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LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTED UNDER ACT VII OF 1904 IN THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

BY

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PREFACE.

This List of Ancient Monuments in the Bihar and Orissa Province, it should be remarked, is confined to those monuments that have been notified as protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act VII of 1904.

It is not to be regarded as comprehending every ancient monument in the province; for certain important monuments are definitely excluded from it. Noteworthy among these are the famous temples at Bhuvaneśvar (all but one, the Rājā Rānī), in respect of which it has not been possible to secure the owners' consent to notification on terms that would allow of the Archæological Department's accepting responsibility for the maintenance of the monuments in a manner appropriate to their archæological importance.

Under the operation of the Reforms Act, "Archæology" has become a "Central Subject", chargeable to Imperial Revenues; and with few and insignificant exceptions, all the monuments included in these pages are maintained by the Archæological Department of the Government of India; the exceptions being kept up by the Bihar and Orissa Government from provincial funds.

The list is almost entirely the work of Maulvī Muḥammad Ḥamīd Ḳuraishī, B.A., Offg. Superintendent of the Archæological Department in the Central Circle. It has been revised in consultation with myself, and I have been responsible for seeing it through the press. Though it is intended primarily for administrative purposes, it is hoped that the information it contains will prove of interest to the public.

The items herein are arranged topographically in Administrative Divisions and Districts of Divisions, and are set out in no chronological order or archæological grouping. Those readers who may be interested in this latter form of arrangement will find a connected chronological description of the monuments of the Bihar and Orissa Province in the chapter on Archæology appearing in the Decennial Review of the province published in 1923, which was contributed by this Department.

The lists have received the approval of the Bihar and Orissa Government.

J. A. PAGE,
Offg. Director General
of Archæology in India.

Simla, 1931.

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REFERENCES.

No.—Serial Number of monument.

a.—Name of monument.

b.—Situation.

c.—Owner.

d.—Class.

The following classification of monuments has been laid down by the Government of India, and they are so classified in the margins of the different lists of Antiquarian remains issued by the Archæological Department, as well as in the various Progress Reports :—

I. Those monuments which from their present condition or historical or archæological value ought to be maintained in permanent good repair.

II. Those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such minor measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like.

III. Those monuments which, from their advanced stage of decay or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.

The monuments in classes I and II are further subdivided thus :—

I (*a*) and II (*a*)—Monuments owned and maintained by Government.

I (*b*) and II (*b*)—Monuments owned and maintained by private persons.

I (*c*) and II (*c*)—Monuments owned by private persons but maintained by the owners and Government jointly or by the Government exclusively.

No comment is necessary upon class I, but in class II it will often be found necessary to carry out sufficient initial repairs over and above those specified, to put a building in such a state that those minor measures will afterwards suffice to keep it in a tolerably fair condition.

Because a building is put into class III, on account of its very dilapidated condition, it does not follow that there should be any unseemly haste in converting it into road metal. It may still be a monument of interest as long as it keeps together.

e.—Date.

f.—Description.

g.—Inscriptions.

h.—Condition.

j.—Bibliographical references.

k.—Serial numbers of photo-negatives of the monument, stored in the office of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

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LIST OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTED UNDER ACT VII OF 1904 IN THE PROVINCE OF BIHAR AND ORISSA.

TIRHUT DIVISION.

CHAMPĀRAN DISTRICT.

Chānkī.

No. 1.—(*a*) Ruined fortress called *Chānkīgaṛh* or *Jānkīgaṛh ;*

(*b*) About ¼ mile east of the village of *Chānkī ;* (*c*) Rānī Chhatar Kumār Devī of Rāmnagar is the owner and Gopāl Gīr Mahant of Chānkī is the *Birt-dār*, of the land on which the mound is situated ; (*d*) IIc ; (*e*) Uncertain ; but probably very old.

(*f*) The mound is situated on elevated ground, a short distance north of the road from Shikārpore to Rāmnagar, in the village Chānkī, which is situated three to four miles north-west of Narkaṭiagañj Railway Station on the B. & N. W. Railway. The mound appears as a hillock in the midst of the low-lying fields around it. It is about 90 feet high above the surrounding fields, according to Cunningham, and is composed of large bricks measuring not 14 inches square as mentioned by Mr. Garrick but only 12½ inches square and 2½ to 2¾ inches thick, and resembling the Mauryan bricks in texture. In shape the mound roughly resembles the letter L reversed, the longer arm of the L

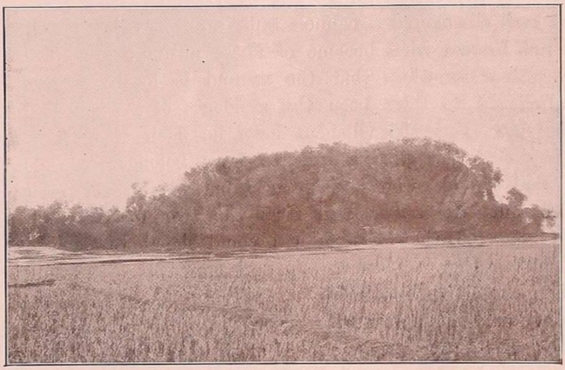


Fig. 1.—Chānkīgarh, from east.

being formed by a lofty ridge running east to west. This ridge takes a turn to south at its eastern extremity and turns again to west until it slopes down to the level of the ground to the south of the shallow pool of water thus enclosed. On all four sides of the larger ridge are high massive walls of brick-in-mud rising perpendicularly above the accumulation of debris all around the base of the mound. The outer facing of these walls has suffered considerably from the action of the weather. The whole mound is so thickly covered with jungle—chiefly *bel* trees and thorns—that a close examination of the ruins is practically impossible. Judging from the general appearance of the ruins, however, the larger ridge running east to west would seem to contain the remains of an oblong building constructed on a high platform, possibly with sloping sides—while the two smaller ridges probably mark the site of a gateway and a long approach to the main building with broad flights of steps.

A narrow winding path has been formed at the south-east angle of the larger ridge and the brickwork which has been exposed in several places, in the cutting of the path, is perfectly intact. The area on the flat top of the large ridge is about 400 ft. by 150 ft., approximately, and is considerably greater than that on the top of the mound called the Nandangaṛh (No. 6). On the western extremity of the ridge can still be seen, on the flat top, edges of bricks in continuous straight lines, which might be taken as indicating traces of walls. About the middle of the ridge is a small square platform some 2 ft. high, which is worshipped as '*Devī kā asthān*'. There is no image at the *sthān*, but a fair is held every year on the 9th of the dark fortnight of Chaitra (March-April), and is attended by large numbers of worshippers from the neighbourhood.

Some forty years ago a Sub-Divisional Officer of Bettiah made some excavations on the mound and discovered a cannon ball, an iron spike and some copper coins, but it is not known what became of these antiquities.

The Champāran Gazetteer mentions that the mound is locally known as Jānkīgaṛh because it is believed to have been the residence of the famous Rājā Janaka of Hindu mythology. But the villagers have no such tradition. On the other hand they say that the *gaṛh* is said to have belonged to a Rājā (whom they sometime call Chanak) whose sister was married to the Rājā of Lauriyā Nandangarh, 11 miles to south, and that the two forts at Chānkī and Lauriyā were so constructed that the princes could signal to each other by means of lights whenever they wished to do so. Moreover Rājā Janak's residence and capital is generally believed to have been situated at Janakpur where thousands of orthodox Hindus assemble every year to pay homage to the Rock-bow broken by Rāma on the occasion of his marriage with Sītā, Janak's daughter. It may also be remarked that the bricks of which the mound at Chānkī is composed are exactly similar to the Aśoka bricks found at Rāmpurvā and other ancient sites *i.e.*, $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick. In texture also they closely resemble the Mauryan bricks, and it is quite possible that the mound contains the remains of a military outpost of Mauryan times.

Mr. Carlleyle states that the mound is situated near, and to the west of the ancient road to Nepāl from Vaiśāli *via* Kesariyā, Bettiah and Lauriyā Nandangarh.

(*g*) None on the surface; (*h*) fair; (*j*) C. S. R., XVI, 109-10; ditto, XXII, 50-51; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 7; J. R. A. S., (1902), 157; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 157-8; (*k*) 1772-1776, 2143, 2144.

Kesariyā.

No. 2.—(*a*) Stūpa known as *Rājā Bena kā Deur* or *Deora*;

(*b*) A little over 2 miles to the S. W. of Kesariyā *thāna* on the east of the road from Motīhārī to Chhapra; (*c*) Mīr Badruddīn and others of the village Lāla Chaprā; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) Cunningham assigned the upper stūpa to the period between 200 and 700 A.D. and the lower structure to the Lichhavis of Vaiśālī.

(*f*) The earliest European notice of this monument appears to be that by Mr. B. H. Hodgson in the J. A. S. B. for 1835, although there is reason to believe that it was partially explored with negative results by a Colonel Mackenzie of the Madras Engineers in 1814. The first detailed description was published by Cunningham in 1861, and from his Report for the year 1861-62 we find that the upper stūpa, which was in a comparatively better condition at that time, measured 68 ft. 5 ins. in diameter and 51 ft. 6 ins. in height, the large mound on which it is situated being 62 feet high and 1,400 feet in circumference at the base. The facing of the stūpa has disappeared everywhere except in one or two places at the top on the south side, and the overhanging upper portions of the structure are now supported on some buttresses constructed around the stūpa in 1911-12. Thus the dimensions given by General Cunningham cannot be checked. The lower mound is composed of solid brickwork; and from its relatively ruined condition General Cunningham concluded that it represented the ruined mass of a much older and larger structure, probably a stūpa. The mound is thickly overgrown with jungle, which makes a close examination of the place practically impossible.

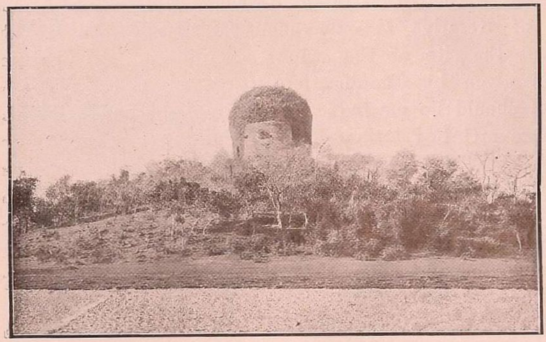


FIG. 2.—Ancient brick stūpa; Kesariyā.

Locally the stūpa is known as "*Rājā Bēna kā Deora*" and the tradition is that Rājā Bēna was a Chakravartī King gifted with supernatural powers and extremely generous towards his subjects, taking only a *sūp* or "winnowing basket" of corn from each cultivator. One day, it is said, he raised the ren-

tals, and ordered that everyone should give him a piece of gold equal in size to a grain of barley. As a result of this, the king immediately lost his supernatural powers; and the lotus leaf (*purēn kā pattā*) which had so far supported his queen Kamalāvatī, when she used to bathe (in the tank), gave way under her as she was bathing on that day and she was drowned. The Rājā, when he came to know of the cause of his misfortune, built the *deora* and entombed himself and all the rest of his family alive in it, closing the entrance through his magical powers. The site of the Queen's palace is still pointed out in the shape of a mound called Rānīvās, about half a mile to the north-east of the stūpa, and the tank in which she used to bathe is called the Gaṅgayya Pokhara, three quarters of a mile to the east of the stūpa. According to General Cunningham this tradition of a Chakravartī Rājā preserves the story mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, in whose "Travels" we find it stated that nearly 200 li (*i.e.*, about 34 miles) north-west of Vaiśālī there was an ancient town which had been deserted for many ages and which possessed a stūpa believed to have been erected over a place where Buddha in one of his former births had appeared as a *Chakravartī Rājā* or Universal Monarch named *Mahādeva*. The old town of Kesariyā is only about 30 miles from Basāṛh, the site of old Vaiśālī. But the site of the stūpa, according to Cunningham, agrees with the description given by Buddha himself of the place where a stūpa over a Supreme Ruler should be erected. In speaking to Ānanda, Buddha told him that "for a Chakravartī Rājā they built the *thūpo* at a spot where four principal roads meet." "This description," says General Cunningham, "agrees most precisely with Kesariyā where, within a quarter of a mile of the stūpa, two high roads cross, one leading from Chaprā to Motīhāri and the other from Patna to Bettiah and Nepāl." Dr. Bloch accepts the identification proposed by General Cunningham and adds that the stūpa probably belongs to the first centuries of the Christian era.

As for the lower structure, General Cunningham considered it to be the ruin of a memorial stūpa built by the Lichhavis to mark the spot where they had taken leave of the Buddha on his way to the place of his *Nirvāṇa*, and where the Master had presented his alms-bowl to them as a memorial. Dr. Spooner apparently accepts this suggestion as correct, for in his conservation note on Kesariyā dated the 16th January 1911, he states that the lower structure might go back to Mauryan or even to pre-Mauryan times. But, in fact, it is impossible to say anything about the exact nature and age of the structure buried in the ruins until a thorough examination of the mound has been made.

A curious custom is still observed by the visitors to this monument which consists in walking round the stūpa five times and afterwards placing five bricks, or rather brickbats, in a pile one above the other. Can it have any reference to the five Supreme Rulers [Chakravartī Rājās]?

Excavations made in 1861-62 in the mound called Rānīvās disclosed several small cells on the east side and a shrine (10 feet square internally) containing the bust of a colossal figure of the Buddha, from which it was inferred

that the mound really marked the site of a Buddhist monastery. Nineteen years later, when General Cunningham visited the site again in 1881, the Buddha statue had disappeared and all the bricks had been dug out. At present it is only an earthen mound about 200 feet square, covered with fragments of bricks. To south-west of the stūpa is another small mound of brick, measuring about 120 feet by 60 feet.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) fair ; (*j*) C. S. R., I., 64 ; ditto, XVI, 16-19 ; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 6 ; S. A. B., XIII, 253 ; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 159-160 ; L. A. M. B., 378 ; (*k*) 737, 2125, 2146.

Lauriyā Arārāj.

No. 3.—(*a*) Aśoka Pillar, locally known as *Laur* or *Bhīm Sen kī Lāṭhī ;*

(*b*) In survey plot No. 714, about a mile S. W. of Lauriyā Arārāj, a large village situated some 16 miles west of Motīhārī on the road to Gobindganj *thāna* ; (*c*) Mahārānī Jānkī Kumārī of Bettiah ; (*d*) Ic ; (*e*) Reign of Aśoka.

(*f*) The pillar was first brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. Hodgson in 1835. It is a monolith of polished sandstone, 36 ft. 6 in. high, with a diameter of 41·8 ins. at the base and 37·6 ins. at the top, according to Cunningham. This height given by Cunningham does not apparently include the rough-dressed and unpolished portion at the extreme base of the pillar, about 15 ins. of which is now exposed above ground. The circumference of the pillar is 11 ft. 3 ins. at the base and only 10 ft. 11 ins. at the junction of the polished and unpolished portions. The polished surface immediately above the unpolished section of the shaft has peeled off up to a height of about 3 ft., and the column is thickly dotted with numerous irregular scratches and small round holes of a dark colour, looking like shot holes and giving a somewhat worm-eaten appearance to the pillar. There is no capital on or near the column but there must have been one originally. The pillar is now worshipped as a phallic emblem on the 13th of the dark half of each Hindu month and also on the occasion of important religious festivals. The village Lauriyā derives its name from the pillar which is known as Laur (Skt. laguḍa=a stick) in the neighbourhood.

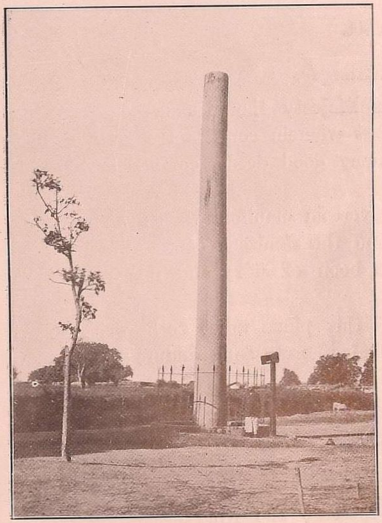


Fig. 3.—Aśoka pillar. Lauriyā Arārāj.

(*g*) The first six of the pillar edicts of Aśoka, in well preserved and neatly engraved characters, are divided into two columns by straight margins between, the

portion to the east containing 23 lines and that to the west 18 lines. The English translation of these edicts is given by Mr. V. A. Smith as follows :—

Edict I.

The principles of Government.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King :—

When I had been consecrated twenty-six years, I caused this pious edict to be written.

Both this world and the next are difficult to secure save by intense love of the Law of Piety, intense self-examination, intense obedience, intense dread, intense effort. However, owing to my instructions, this yearning for the Law of Piety, this love of the Law from day to day, has grown and will grow.

My agents, too, whether of high, low or middle rank, themselves conform to my teaching and lead others in the right way—fickle people must be led into the right way—and the Wardens of the Marches act in like manner. For this is the rule—protection by the Law of Piety, regulation by that Law, felicity by that Law, and protection by that Law.

Edict II.

The Royal Example.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King :—

"The Law of Piety is excellent." But wherein consists the Law of Piety? In these things, to wit, little impiety, many good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, and purity.

The gift of spiritual insight I have given in manifold ways; whilst on two-footed and four-footed beings, on birds and the denizens of the waters, I have conferred various favours—even unto the boon of life; and many other good deeds have I done.

For this my purpose have I caused this pious edict to be written, that men may walk after its teaching, and that it may long endure; and he who will follow its teaching will do well.

Edict III.

Self-Examination.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King :—

Man sees his every good deed, and says, "This good deed have I done." In no wise does he see his ill deed and say, "This ill deed have I done, this act called impiety."

Difficult, however, is self-examination of this kind. Nevertheless, a man should see to this, that brutality, cruelty, anger, pride, and jealousy, are the things that lead to impiety, and should say, "By reason of these may I not fall."

This is chiefly to be seen to—"The one course avails me for the present world, the other course avails me also for the world to come."

Edict IV.

The Powers and Duties of Commissioners.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

When I had been consecrated twenty-six years I caused this pious edict to be written.

My Commissioners have been set over many hundred thousands of the people, and to them I have granted independence in the award of honours and penalties in order that the Commissioners confidently and fearlessly may perform their duties, bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country, and confer favours upon them.

They will ascertain the causes of happiness or unhappiness, and through the subordinate officials of the Law of Piety will exhort the people of the country so that they may gain both this world and the next.

My Commissioners, too, are eager to serve me, while my Agents will obey my will and orders, and they too, on occasion, will give exhortations, whereby the Commissioners will be zealous to win my favour.

For, just as a man, having made over his child to a skilful nurse, feels confident and says to himself, "The skilful nurse is zealous to take care of my child's happiness," even so my Commissioners have been created for the welfare and happiness of the country, with intent that fearlessly, confidently, and quietly they may perform their duties. For that reason, my Commissioners have been granted independence in the award of honours and penalties.

For in as much as it is desirable that there should be uniformity in judicial procedure, and uniformity in penalties, from this time forward my rule is this—"To condemned men lying in prison under sentence of death a respite of three days is granted by me."

During this interval the relatives of some of the condemned men will invite them to deep meditation, hoping to save their lives, or, in order to lead to meditation him about to die, will themselves give alms with a view to the other world, or undergo fasting. For my desire is that, even in the time of their confinement, the condemned men may gain the next world, and that among the people pious practices of various kinds may grow, including self-control and distribution of alms.

Edict V.

Regulations restricting slaughter and mutilation of animals.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

When I had been consecrated twenty-six years the following species were declared exempt from slaughter, namely:—

Parrots, starlings, (?) adjutants, "Brahmany ducks," geese, *nandīmukhas*, *gelātas*, bats, queen-ants, female tortoises, "boneless fish," *vedaveyakas*, *gaṅgā-*

puputakas, (?) skate, (river) tortoises, porcupines, tree-squirrels, (?) *bārasinga*, stags, "Brahmany bulls," (?) monkeys, rhinoceroses, grey doves, village pigeons, and all four-footed animals which are not utilized or eaten.

She-goats, ewes, and sows, that is to say, those either with young or in milk, are exempt from slaughter as well as their offspring up to six months of age.

The caponing of cocks must not be done.

Chaff must not be burned along with the living things in it.

Forests must not be burned, either for mischief, or so as to destroy living creatures.

The living must not be fed with the living. At each of the three seasonal full-moons, and at the full moon of the month Tishya (December—January), or three days in each case, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the first fortnight, and the first day of the second fortnight, as well as on the fast days throughout the year, fish is exempt from killing and may not be sold.

On the same days, in elephant-preserves or fish-ponds no other classes of animals may be destroyed.

On the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of each fortnight, as well as on the Tishya and Punarvasu days, and festival days, the castration of bulls must not be performed, nor may he-goats, rams, boars, and other animals liable to castration be castrated.

On the Tishya and Punarvasu days, on the seasonal full-moon days, and during the fortnights of the seasonal full-moons the branding of horses and oxen must not be done.

During the time up to the twenty-sixth anniversary of my consecration twenty-five jail deliveries have been effected.

Edict VI.

The necessity for a definite creed.

Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King :—

When I had been consecrated twelve years I caused this pious edict to be written for the welfare and happiness of mankind, with the intent that they, giving up their old courses, might attain growth, in piety, one way or another.

Thus, aiming at the welfare and happiness of mankind, I devote my attention alike to my relatives, to persons near, and to persons afar off, if haply I may guide some of them to happiness, and to that end I make my arrangements.

In like manner I devote my attention to all communities, for all denominations are reverenced by me with various forms of reverence. Nevertheless, personal adherence to one's own creed is the chief thing in my opinion.

When I had been consecrated twenty-six years I caused this pious edict to be written.

II. Besides the Aśoka edicts the pillar also bears a few letters in shell-characters and some modern scribblings by visitors, one of which contains the name of "Reuben Burrow," a distinguished mathematician and astronomer

and one of the earliest members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is dated in 1792, the year of Mr. Burrow's death.

(*h*) Excellent. The column is now enclosed in a circular iron fencing set in a cement base about 12″ high; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 67-8; S. A. B., XIII, 254; L. A. M. B., 378; E. I., Vol. II, 245-269; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 160-61; Smith, Asoka, 146-7; Smith, Edicts of Asoka, 26-32; (*k*) 2147, 2148, 2149.

Lauriyā Nandangaṛh.

No. 4.—(*a*) Aśoka Column locally known as *Laur Bābā* or *Bhīm Sen kī Lāthī.*

(*b*) In plot No. 560 about half a mile to the north-east of the village of Lauriyā, which is situated 15 miles north-west of Bettiah; (*c*) Private; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) About 243-242 B.C.

(*f*) The pillar is a monolith of highly polished sandstone surmounted by a lion capital. The shaft of the pillar, which is 32 ft. 9 ins. in height, diminishes from a base diameter of 35·5 ins. to a diameter of 26·2 ins. at the top. The circumference at the base, immediately above the modern plinth around the pillar, is 9 ft. 1 in. thus giving a base diameter of about 34·7 ins. The edges of the shaft have chipped off at the top; and immediately below the bell capital there is a circular depression on the north-east side of the shaft, which is supposed to have been made by a cannon-ball.

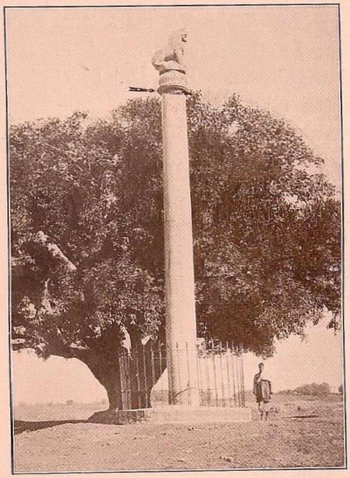


Fig. 4.—Aśoka Column, Lauriyā Nandangaṛh.

The cap of the pillar is 6 ft. 10 ins. high and consists of the familiar bell-shaped capital of Persepolitan style surmounted by a circular abacus supporting a life-size figure of a lion facing the east. The bell capital projects about 6 ins. on all sides from the shaft and the underside of the projecting portion is relieved with a cable ornament and a bead-and-reel design, while the bell itself is decorated with conventional lotus petals. Above the bell is a cable necking, and the abacus, which is circular, is decorated with an artistic bas-relief representing a row of about a dozen Brahmany geese all walking to left with lowered heads as if in procession round the lion above. The ends of the falling lotus petals and some of the geese on the abacus have disappeared. The lion is represented *sejant* with mouth wide open and the tongue protruding. Its upper jaw is missing and the right fore-paw partially damaged. But even as it is, it affords a noble example of sculptural art. "Observe the spirited vitality of the animal, the distended chest, the tense development of the muscles, the swelling veins, the strong set of the claws and the crisp treatment of the mane disposed in short schematic curls."

General Cunningham's Assistant, Mr. Carlleyle, excavated round the base of the pillar in 1887 and found that about two feet of the smooth portion of

the pillar was still embedded in the ground and that the rough-dressed portion below, which continued down to a depth of 10 ft. below the surface, was nearly 40 ins. in diameter and rested on a stone platform about 7 ft. 4 ins. square. Along the outer edge of this basement Mr. Carlleyle found "some long ancient pieces of *sāl* timber lying embedded close against the stone platform." At present the pillar is enclosed within a circular iron railing set in a *pakka* masonry plinth one foot high and about 12 feet in diameter.

The Lauriyā pillar is much more slender and consequently has a more graceful appearance than the pillars at Kolhuā and Arārāj. The mouldings and decorations are admirably executed and the design and workmanship of the whole are rightly praised as displaying both knowledge and power. Altogether the column is a much more pleasing monument than any of the other Aśoka pillars in Tirhut.

The pillars at Kolhuā, Rāmpurvā, Arārāj and Lauriyā Nandangaṛh are believed by some writers to have been set up by Aśoka to mark the stages of his journey to Nepāl, which he undertook in the 21st year of his reign for the purpose of visiting the holy places of Buddhism. But Dr. Bloch is of opinion that the chief reason why Aśoka erected one of his pillars at Lauryā Nandangaṛh appears to be that the funeral monuments (No. 5) near the column probably contained remains of royal personages, and, being objects of worship, attracted large gatherings of worshippers annually from long distances, so that in erecting a pillar at Lauriyā, Aśoka obviously selected a most suitable spot for the promulgation of his precepts.

A fair is still held at the pillar on the 13th of the dark fortnight of *Agahan* (November—December) every year, when thousands of Hindūs come from neighbouring villages to pay homage to *Laur Bābā*.

(*g*) The first six of the pillar edicts of Aśoka corresponding almost letter for letter with those on the Arārāj pillar (No. 3). The inscription is divided into two columns with a straight margin between, the portion on the east face containing 28 lines and that on the west 21.

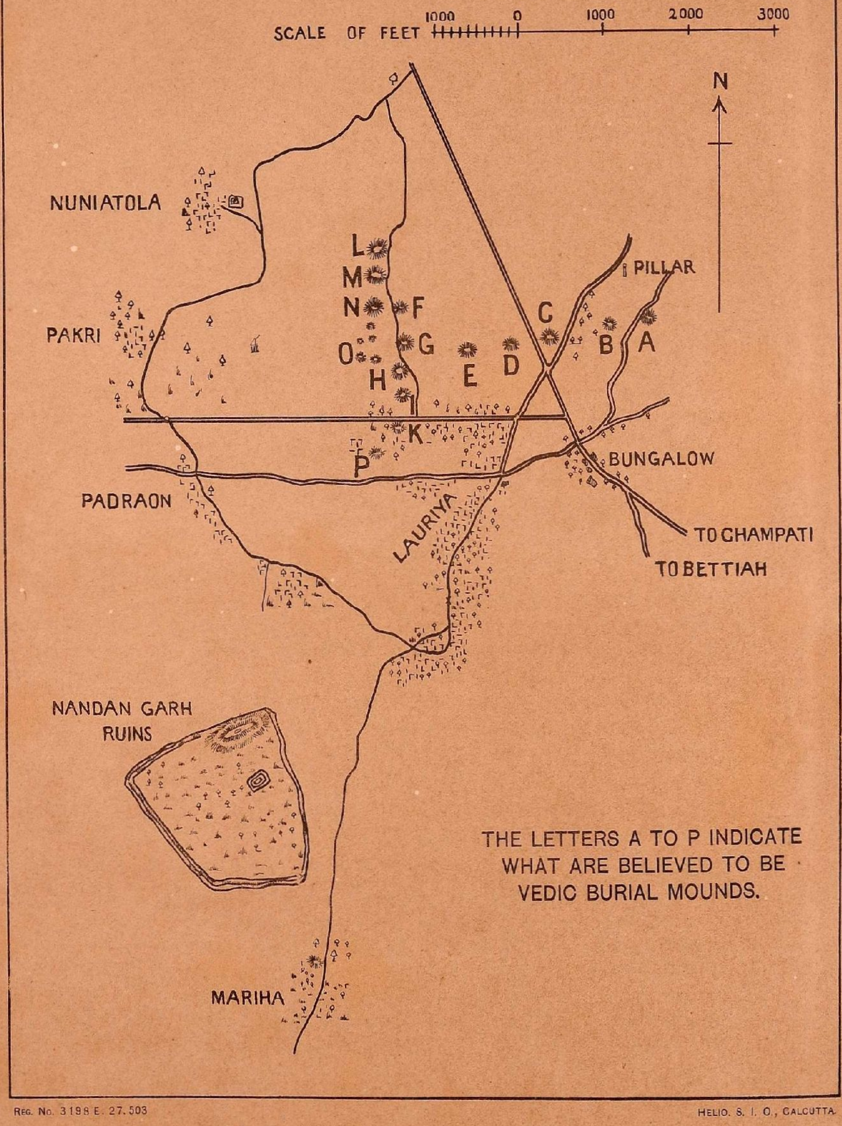
II. The pillar stands quite close to the road from Bettiah to Nepāl and has consequently been visited by numerous visitors, some of whom have inscribed their names on it. Almost all of these modern inscriptions are incised below the lowest edict. Noticeable among them are :—

(i) A Persian inscription incised in Nasta'līq characters, containing the Muhammadan Kalima in Naskh and :—

محی الدین محمد اورنگ زیب بادشاه عالمگیر غازي سنه ١٠٧١

i.e., "Muḥy-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, year 1071." The date in this inscription corresponds to A.D. 1660-61, which was the 3rd year of the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb and the record appears to have been inscribed by some zealous follower of Mīr Jumla's army which was then on its way back from Bengal after the defeat of Prince Shujā'. This inscription is on the south face of the pillar.

MAP OF LAURIYA NANDAN GARH



REG. NO. 3198 E. 27.503 HELIO. S. I. O., CALCUTTA.

(ii) A Nāgrī inscription on the north face dated "*Samvat 1566. Chait badi 10.*" The year in this inscription is equivalent to A.D. 1509.

(iii) Another Nāgrī inscription, which refers to a petty Royal family, is without any date and reads "Nripa Nārāyaṇa Suta, Nripa Amar Siṁha, Ujjain" and "Chhatiapati Suta Maha Siṁha, Ujjain" *i.e.*, "King Amar Siṁha, the son of King Nārāyaṇa of Ujjain" and "Mahā Siṁha, son of Chhatiapati of Ujjain." This inscription is engraved just above the Persian record.

(iv) The oldest English inscription is "Rn Burrow 1792."

(*h*) Excellent; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 380; C. S. R., I, 68-74 and pl. XXIII; XVI, 107-8 and pl. XXVII; XXII, 46-7; S. A. B., XIII, 254-55; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 5; (1905), 11-15; E. I., II, 245-69; I. A., XVII, 303-07; XVIII, 1, 3, 105, 300; Mem. A. S. B., (1906), 362-374; Smith, Edicts of Aśoka, 26-32; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 161-2; (*k*) 356, 2150-53.

No. 5.—(*a*) Vedic Burial mounds locally known as *Bhiṭṭas;*

(*b*) South, south-west and west of the Aśoka Column (No. 4); (*c*) Bettiah Rāj; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) Vedic period; between 500 and 600 B.C.

(*f*) The mounds are situated in the villages of Lauriyā and Pakhṛī and are ranged in three rows of five each, varying in height from 40 feet to about 15 feet and even less. The first row runs from east to west, the eastern-most mound in it being situated some 500 feet south of the Aśoka column (No. 4) noticed before. Near the western end of this row, and almost at right angles to it, are the other two rows running north to south, parallel to each other. The place of the fourth mound in the outer or western line of the north-south rows is occupied by a cluster of 5 small mounds only a few feet in height and hardly distinguishable from the fields around them. Some of the mounds are over-grown with trees and low brushwood but the majority are mostly barren. They are more or less conical in shape at present, though from the accumulation of clay around their bases, obviously washed from above, it is safe to assume that originally they may have presented a different appearance. The material of which they are constructed is a yellow clay, which is quite different from the grey soil of the surrounding fields and appears to have been imported from the bed of the Gaṇḍak river at present about 10 miles distant.

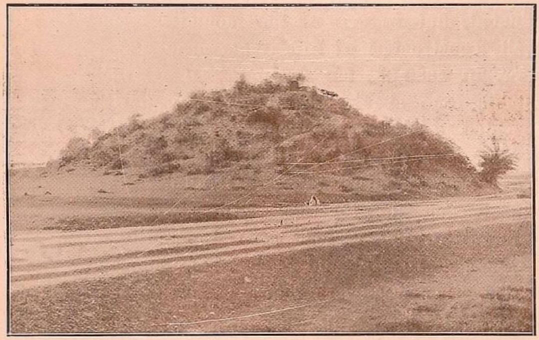


Fig. 5.—Vedic burial mounds, Lauriyā Nandangaṛh.

General Cunningham, who visited the site as early as 1861, considered these barrows to be the sepulchral mounds of the Indian Kings of pre-Buddhistic times, and suggested that they might represent the *Chaitiyāni* or *Chaityas* (memorial graves) alluded to by the Buddha in a question addressed to his favourite disciple Ānanda about the Vrijjians. "Ānanda," he said, "hast thou heard that the Vrijjians, whatever the number may be of the Vrijjian Chaitiyāni belonging to the Vrijjian (rulers), whether situated within or without (the city) they maintain, respect, reverence and make offerings to them and that they keep up without diminution the ancient offerings, the ancient observances and the ancient sacrifices righteously made ?"

Some of the mounds had been opened before General Cunningham's visit, and we find in the Bengal Administration Report for 1868-9, para. 273, that one of them, the fourth from the north in the inner or eastern line of the N.-S. rows, had yielded "some leaden coffins containing unusually long human skeletons." A "punch-marked" silver coin of pre-Alexandrian date had been discovered by Major Pearse of the Madras Artillery; and Mr. Lynch, the Deputy Magistrate of Motīhāri (in 1861) had also found, among the superficial brick ruins on one of the mounds, an inscribed Gupta seal, the inscription on the seal reading *Aṭavija* with a *svastika* at the end of the name, the symbol of *dharma* above it and a *triśūla* to left. General Cunningham's own operations were somewhat hastily conducted, but in one of the mounds he found a fragment of a late retaining wall, constructed of bricks measuring 20½ inches long and four inches thick. Later, in 1880-81, his Assistant, Mr. Garrick, excavated several of the mounds including one of the two larger ones to the south of the Aśoka column, which yielded a shallow earthen vase at a depth of 7 feet containing 67 large *cowries*. Besides these discoveries, Mr. Moore, the well-known manager of the Lauriyā Farm, showed Dr. Bloch in 1902 some copper vessels, which had been dug up, together with two ancient copper coins, from one of the mounds. The vessels were apparently of a recent date. One of these coins belonged to Maḥmūd S͟hāh of Jaunpūr and had the date 847 A.H.=1443 A.D.; the other was very much worn and could not be identified.

In 1905, Dr. Bloch of the Archæological Department made a survey of the whole site and opened 4 of the sepulchral mounds, two of which, M and N in the attached plan, presented almost identical features. The clay of which these barrows are made was found to be laid in horizontal layers a few inches thick and extending, apparently, right through the mounds with layers of straw and leaves between them. Time had rendered it very hard and tough for the most part, but it varied in this respect in the several mounds and varied also in colour according to its depth below the surface. The two mounds M and N, which presented almost identical features, are the second and third from north in the western line of the N.-S. rows. Here at a depth of 6 to 12 feet from the top, and in the centre of each mound, Dr. Bloch discovered a small deposit of burnt human bones, mixed up with charcoal, and a small

piece of gold leaf with the figure of a standing woman stamped upon it. The bones from mound M also included a fragment of an upper human jaw about 1½ ins. in size. The teeth were missing but in the place of one of the frontal teeth there were two holes, one above the other, from which Dr. Bloch concluded that the person to whom the jaw belonged had died at a young age, while changing his or her teeth. At a little below the two deposits of bones Dr. Bloch came upon a long hollow shaft, 10 inches in diameter, and running right through the centre of each mound, showing where an upright wooden post had once existed but had since been eaten away by white-ants. And lastly, at the bottom of one of the two mounds (N),—for the other (M) was given up—just at the dividing line between the yellow clay and the grey soil of the fields was found the stump of the wooden pillar itself *in situ*. This stump was of *sāl* wood and of considerable thickness, its circumference at the base being 4 ft. 4 ins. Dr. Bloch excavated round the stump to a depth of 6 ft. without getting to its end.

FIG. 6.—Figure of Prithivī stamped on gold leaf, from burial mound, Lauriyā Nandangarh.

The third mound opened by Dr. Bloch vas the first from the north in the eastern line of the north-south rows (F); but it yielded nothing of interest. Only a few animal bones turned up here and there; and a number of pieces of corroded iron were found in the centre which might conceivably have formed parts of a wooden post. But no traces of wood were found below, not even the hollow shaft, though the trench was sunk to the level of the surrounding fields. The fourth mound, (H), which is the third from the north in the eastern line of N.-S. rows, did not yield any relics or remains of a wooden post. Nor were there any traces of straw or leaves between the layers of clay.

One of the two gold leaves from the mounds M and N was stolen from Dr. Bloch's tent, together with the cash-box in which he had placed it. The other is now exhibited in a show-case in the New Hall of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

As regards the explanation of these discoveries, Dr. Bloch believes that it is to be found in the ancient burial customs described in the *Sūtras* and *Prayogas* which deal with the Indian ritual. "Their rules," he writes, "have been collected together and explained in Dr. Caland's well-known work *Die Altindischen Toten und Bestattungs-gebrauche.* According to this excellent publication, the disposal of the dead in ancient India was divided into four separate acts, *viz.*—

(1) Cremation.

(2) Collecting the bones of the cremated person and depositing them in an urn (*asthi-sañchayana*).

(3) Expiation (*Śāntikarma*).

(4) Erection of the funeral monument (*śmaśāna-chiti ; loshṭa-chiti*).

"The fourth act is optional only, and is done sometime after the bones have been deposited in the funeral urn and placed in the field under a tree. The urn is then taken out, and after the bones have been washed and several other ceremonies have been performed, they are placed upon the earth, the urn is broken and thrown away, and a funeral monument (*śmaśāna*) is erected over the bones by piling up layers of bricks or clay (*loshṭa*). The height of such a grave generally does not appear to have exceeded that of a human body and its shape was some form of a quadrangle. But both Āpastaṁba and Hiraṇyakeśin also mention round *śmaśānas* like the mounds under review. And in the Vedic Hymns we meet with certain verses which help us to understand the construction of the funeral mounds at Lauriyā."

"I refer especially to two verses in the 18th hymn of the 10th book of the Ṛig-Veda, the famous Funeral Litany of Ancient India. In verse 13 we read as follows :—

Ut te stabhnāmi pṛithivīṁ tvat parīmaṁ
lokaṁ nidadhan mo ahaṁ rishaṁ
Etāṁ sthūṇāṁ pitaro dhārayantu
te'trā yamaḥ sādanā te minotu

i.e. 'I raise the earth around thee; that I lay this lump of earth, should not do me any harm.'

'*May the manes hold this pillar for thee,* and may *Yama* prepare a seat for thee in the other world.'

"I doubt if any one, in reading this verse of the Ṛig-Veda, would not at once remember the construction of the mounds M and N, as described above. They consist of layers of earth or clay, raised around a wooden post or pillar, just as the funeral monuments referred to in the Vedic verse must have been. Indeed, while I was carrying out the excavations at Lauriyā, this passage from the Veda occurred to me at once, and it is only with the help of this verse from the Ṛig-Veda that I have been able to properly understand the results of my diggings in the mounds M and N at Lauriyā."

"But the same Vedic hymn helps us also a good deal further. We read in its 10th verse—

Upa sarpa mātaraṁ, bhūmiṁ etāṁ,
Uruvyachasaṁ pṛithivīṁ, suśevāṁ.
Ūrṇamradā yuvatir dakshiṇāvate
eshā tvā pātu nirṛiter upasthāt.

i.e. 'Go to thy mother, this earth, the widely extending, very gracious Pṛithivī.'

'That maiden (*i.e.* Pṛithivī, the earth) soft as wool to the pious, may protect thee from the abode of destruction.'

"From this verse it becomes evident that we must look upon the two female figures found with the bone deposits inside the mounds M and N as images of *Pṛithivī, the Earth Goddess,* to whose tender care the dead body had been entrusted to protect it against complete destruction (*nirṛiter-upasthāt*), as the Vedic poet expresses himself . . . . . The straw placed between the

layers of clay at Lauriyā also reminds us of the bushels of grass that are put upon the *śmaśāna* . . . Whether the two mounds F and H—(which did not yield any relics or traces of wooden posts), served the same purpose as the other two—M and N—is not quite clear. It is possible that they were erected as monuments of persons whose funeral urns could not be found. This case is provided for in the ritual and it is prescribed that some earth should then be taken out from the spot where the urn was supposed to have been deposited, and laid down instead of the bones. We may also think of the rules referring to persons who died on a journey and whose bodies could not be found. It is, however, likewise possible that mounds F and H merely served some purpose in connexion with the cremation, which invariably was performed on the same place where the *śmaśāna* was put up later."

The mounds are situated near the north bank of the Torkāha Nāla and only about two-thirds of a mile to the south of another larger stream called the Sikrāha Nadī. Evidently the ablutions connected with the cremation of corpses were performed on the banks of water channels, the ashes being afterwards deposited in the mounds close by.

Dr. Bloch looked upon the burial mounds at Lauriyā as the remains of some royal tombs similar to the chaityas of the Vrijjis, Mallas, and other ancient clans of which we find mention made in the Buddhist literature.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 68-74; C. S. R., XVI, 104-9; ditto, XXII, 47-49; B. A. R., (1868-9), para. 273; A. S. R., (1904-05), 38-40; A. S. R., (1906-07), 119-26; A. S. R. E. C., (1905), 11-15; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 163-66; J. R. A. S., (1902), 154-5; (*k*) 363, 370, 2154.

No. 6.—(*a*) The Nandangaṛh mound.

(*b*) In survey plot No. 199 of village Maṛhia, about a mile to south of the Burial mounds (No. 5) and nearly half a mile to south-west of the village Lauriyā; (*c*) Bettiah Rāj; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) Uncertain, but probably very ancient.

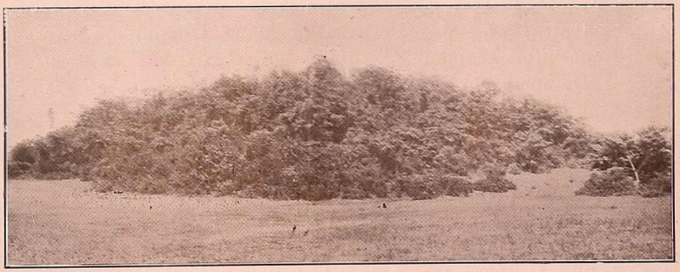


Fig. 7.—Nandangaṛh mound.

(*f*) The mound is about 80 feet high and commands an extensive view over the well-wooded country on every side. It is composed of bricks, some of which were found to measure 24 ins. by 12 ins. by 5½ ins. by Cunningham. One of these bricks is still lying at a well near the base of the ruins to south-east, and measures 22 ins. long now; but as two of the sides are broken, its original dimensions

cannot be ascertained with accuracy. Some of the more common bricks measure only 9 to 10 inches wide and 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The top of the mound measures about 250 feet square according to General Cunningham and the whole mound occupies an area of nearly 7 *bīghas* of land.

Mr. V. A. Smith suggested the identity of the mound with the "Ashes Stūpa" in which the ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre were enshrined. Dr. Bloch, on the other hand, was inclined to believe that the mound contained remains of several buildings marking perhaps the site of an ancient citadel, and pointed out that the traces of a ditch were still visible around it. The area at the top of the mound appears to be rather too small for a fortress or a palace; but remains of a ditch are certainly traceable, while immediately to the south of the mound is a vast undulating area of about 50 *bīghas* covered with brick-bats and enclosed by what appears to be a low rampart. However, it is impossible to affirm anything positively at present, and in order to clear up this problem it will be necessary to remove all the jungle on the mound and then to carry out systematic excavations on scientific lines. At present the mound is so thickly covered with low jungle and trees that even its shape can not be made out. The only access to the small plateau at the top is by means of a narrow path, which has been cut through the jungle on the south side.

Mr. Carlleyle, who excavated at the top of the mound in 1880-81, found three *chirāghs* at a depth of 5 ft. below the surface, one of which was inscribed, and the few letters that could be made out resembled the Aśoka characters in outline.

The local tradition about the *gaṛh* is that the sister of Rājā Chanak, who lived at Chānkīgaṛh, 11 miles to the north, was married in Lauriyā and the site of her dwelling is called Nandangaṛh because she was the *nandan* (*i.e.* *nanad*=husband's sister) of the Rājā's consort.

Another tradition given by General Cunningham and known only to the literate in the village, is that Nandangaṛh was the residence of Rājā Uttānpāda, king of Brahmāvarta, who was the son of Manu Svāyambhuva, the son of Brahmā and progenitor of mankind. Here, however, tradition seems to be in the wrong, for Brahmāvarta is situated at Biṭhūr, about 10 miles from Cawnpore in the United Provinces, and there we can still trace the remains of a ruined fortress on the bank of the Ganges. Some years ago that fortress was partially explored and yielded some pre-historic implements of copper and bronze, some of which are now preserved in the Lucknow and Calcutta Museums.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Thickly covered with jungle and trees; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 68-74; XVI, 104; XXII, 35-47; A. S. R., (1906-07), 119; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 5; (1905), 11; Dist. Gazet.. Champaran, 162-63; J. R. A. S., (1902), 153; Anderson's Catalogue, I, 142; II, 395; (*k*) 358, 2155, 2156.

Rāmpurvā.

No. 7.—(*a*) Aśoka Pillar known as *Bhīm-Sen-Kī-Lāṭhi.*

(*b*) Less than half a mile to west of Rāmpurvā, an obscure village situated about two miles south-west of Gaunāha station on the B. & N. W. Railway; (*c*) Private; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) Circa 243 B.C.

(*f*) The column, which is a monolith of highly polished grey sandstone, does not appear to have been alluded to by the Chinese pilgrims. When discovered by Mr. Carlleyle in 1877 only the upper portion of the bell capital of the column was visible. The rest of the pillar was lying buried in a morass where it had fallen and remained in that condition until 1907, when under the orders of the Director General of Archæology in India excavations were carried out around it by Mr. Dayā Rām Sāhnī. The lower end of the pillar was found buried in the sandy clay at a depth of about 16 feet below the ground level, resting edge-wise on a stone slab 7 ft. 9 ins. square and 1 ft. 9 ins. thick. In 1913, the pillar was, with great difficulty, removed from the swamp in which it had been lying and placed horizontally on a brick platform on the top of a small earthen mound some 200 yards to south of its original position. A small brick shed has since been erected over the central portion for the protection of the inscription, which is cut all round the circumference of the shaft. Excluding the large tenon at the top, the shaft measures 44 ft. 10½ ins. in length; but the polished portion is only 36 ft. long; while the thickness of the shaft is 3 ft. at the top and 4 ft. 1½ ins. at the lower extremity.

FIG. 8.—Aśoka pillars, Rāmpurvā.

The tenon at the top of the pillar is 2½ ins. high and 2 ft. 1½ ins. in diameter. In the centre of the tenon is a circular hole 4½ ins. in diameter and 13 ins. deep. This hole was intended to hold the lower half of a barrel-shaped bolt of copper with which the capital of the pillar was originally fastened. The bolt (which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) is a solid piece of pure copper 24½ inches in length and 4¼ ins. in diameter at the centre; it tapers slightly towards the ends (where its diameter is 3⅜ ins.) and was beautifully fitted into the stone without any cement. On the body of the bolt are incised some curious marks, two of which can be easily

FIG. 9.—Lion capital of Aśoka pillar, Rāmpurvā (now in Indian Museum, Calcutta).

recognised as the so-called "taurine" and the "three arched Chaitya" symbols. The bolt is 79½ lbs. in weight and the fact that it is made of copper, and not of iron, shows that, even in the age of Aśoka, Indians were well-acquainted with the destructive properties of iron when used as a fastening for stones.

The cap which once ornamented the pillar was discovered by Mr. Dayā Rām Sāhnī near the shaft and is now placed in the Indian Museum. It is just a little more than 7 ft. in height including the lion figure, and is exactly similar to the one surmounting the column at Lauriyā Nandangaṛh (No. 4).

(*g*) About the middle of the shaft is a well-preserved inscription of Aśoka divided into two portions. The eastern portion consists of 20 lines and represents the first four of the famous pillar Edicts issued by Aśoka in the 26th year after his consecration; the other portion, comprising 15 lines, contains the fifth and the sixth edicts. The inscription corresponds almost letter for letter with those on the Lauriyā pillars and it is probable, as Dr. Bühler conjectured, that the three versions were either engraved according to the same manuscript or at least copied from three manuscripts written out by the same official.

II. Some modern scribblings representing crude figures of peacocks and other birds on the shaft and on the tenon at the top.

(*h*) Excellent, except that the edges at the extreme base of the pillar have chipped off.
(*j*) L. A. M. B., 380; C. S. R., XVI, 110-117 and pl. XXVIII; XXII, 51-57; A. S. R., (1902-03), 38-40; (1907-08), 181-88; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 5; (1906-07), 16; (1910-11), 36; (1912-13), 36; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 173-174; (*k*) 736, 1025, 1026.

No. 8.—(*a*) Broken pillar of buff-grey sandstone with Mauryan polish.

(*b*) Some 10 feet to the east of No. 7, outside the brick shed; (*c*) Private; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) Mauryan.

(*f*) Close to No. 7 is the shaft of another Mauryan pillar broken into two large and several small pieces, all of which, together with the Bull Capital referred to below, were brought to light by the excavations carried out by Mr. Dayā Rām Sāhnī in 1907-08 around the lower portion of the pillar, which was *in situ*. It is 43 ft. 4 ins. in length with a diameter of 44 inches at the extreme base and 25 inches at the top. The lower section, which measures 25 ft. in length, including the rough unpolished portion (8 ft.) at the bottom, was, until 1913, standing *in situ* some 50 yards to the south-west of the mound on which it is now placed. The upper portion is 18 ft. 4 ins. long, and was unearthed near the stump referred to above. It is complete at the upper end, where may still be seen a socket hole about 5½ ins. in diameter and 14 inches in depth intended to hold the metal bolt with which the capital must have been fastened.

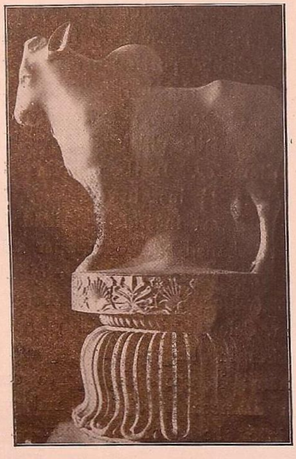


FIG. 10.—Bull capital of Aśoka column, Rāmpurvā (now in Indian Museum, Calcutta).

The capital of the pillar is 6 ft. 9 ins. high and consists of the usual bell surmounted by a circular, ornate abacus supporting an almost life-size figure of a bull, 4 ft. high. The bell is somewhat damaged but the rest of the capital is well preserved. The abacus is adorned with a beautiful honey-suckle design.

The capital is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The overthrow of the column was brought about, not by some zealous followers of Mīr Jumla's army as suggested in the District Gazetteer, but in all likelihood by some natural calamity such as inundation, earthquake or lightning at a very early date. This is borne out by the fact that the broken shaft and the capital of the pillar were actually found lying on the original brick pavement laid around the foot of the pillar at the time of its erection.

(*g*) Large pieces of stone have chipped off about the middle of the shaft and the inscription, if there was any, has been lost; (*h*) Broken; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 380; A. S. R., (1902-03), 38-40; A. S. R., (1907-08), 181-188; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 5-6; (1912-13), 36; Smith's Edicts, 26-32 and Smith's Aśoka, 147; (*h*)1026.

Sāgar.

No. 9.—(*a*) Sāgardih, locally known as Bhisa or Sāgargally.

(*b*) Some three miles from Piprā, on the B. & N. W. Railway, and on the west of the road from Piprā to Kesariyā; (*c*) Faqīr Sher 'Alī; (*d*) III; (*e*) Late mediæval.

(*f*) From the accounts of the trial excavations carried out by General Cunningham in 1880, we find that the mound contained the ruins of an ancient stūpa 22 feet in diameter built on the top of a paved terrace, which was 20 feet high above the ground and 175 feet in diameter and appeared to be the remains of a much older and larger structure. The lower portion of the upper stūpa was, according to Cunningham, adorned with two broad bands of bold mouldings, the upper one of which was supported on dentils or brackets. Above this the wall was divided into 14 faces by plain pilasters; while the dome, which had been lost, appeared to have been faced with headers and stretchers, the latter measuring 14 ins. in length. The bricks used in the construction of the upper stūpa measured 15 ins. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins.; those in the lower platform $17\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. In the shaft which Cunningham sank down the centre of the stūpa nothing was found to indicate the date, but he judged from its general appearance, as well as from the relative proportions of height and diameter, that it must have been a Mediæval building,

FIG. 11.—Stūpa mound, from east, Sāgardih.

probably of the 9th or 10th century A.D. He did not attempt to fix the date of the lower structure, but concluded from the discovery of the roots of a palm tree embedded in its brickwork that it must be several centuries older.

At the present time, however, the Sāgar *Bhisa* is nothing but a mound of earth and brickbats completely overgrown with lofty trees and low jungle growth. No traces of the buildings mentioned by Cunningham can be observed and to judge from its outward appearance it is highly probable that the monument has been divested of all structural features.

The mound is attributed to Sāgara, the Solar hero. But I do not think the builder of this monument can be the same Sāgara as the well-known ancestor of Rāma; for the capital of his race was at Ayodhyā in the United Provinces. The mound is about 25 to 30 feet high, with a circular base of nearly 150 feet in diameter, and has been used as a quarry for bricks until very recent times.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Bad; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 386; C. S. R., XVI, 19—22 and plates VI and VII; A. S. R. E. C., (1902), 6; Dist. Gazet., Champaran, 175—6; (*k*) 1765.

MUZAFFARPUR DISTRICT.

Basāṛh.

No. 10.—(*a*) Rājā Biśāl kā Gaṛh.

(*b*) Near Basāṛh or Banyā Basāṛh, a village some 22 miles south-west of Muzaffarpur; (*c*) A large number of petty zamīndārs of Basāṛh and the neighbouring villages; (*d*) III; (*e*) The remains hidden in the site are of different dates ranging between a few centuries before the Christian era and the late Mediæval period.

(*f*) The site of *Rājā Biśāl kā gaṛh* is believed to represent the remains of the fort or palace of Vaiśālī, the ancient capital of the Lichhavis and espe-

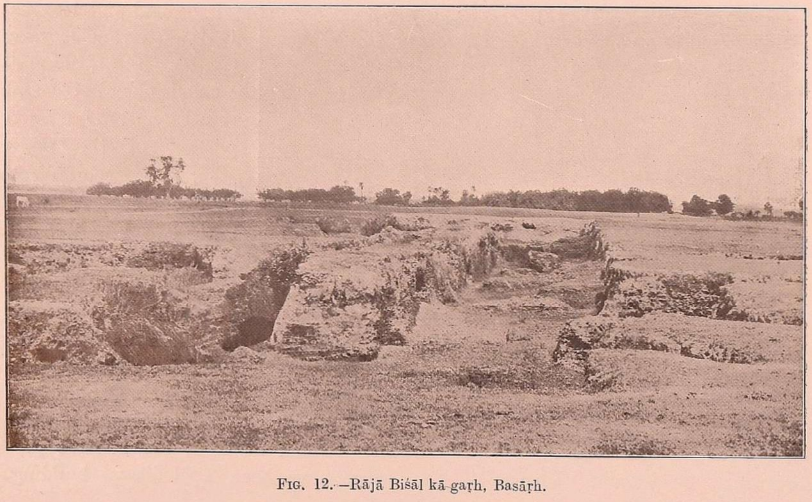


FIG. 12.—Rājā Biśāl kā garh, Basāṛh.

cially famous in Buddhist history as the scene of the Second Buddhist Synod, and also as the place where Buddha announced his approaching *Nirvāṇa*. It is a large, brick-covered mound of oblong shape, slightly less than a mile in circumference. The longer sides run from north to south, about 1,700 feet, and the shorter ones from east to west, about 800 feet, while the average height of the ruins is some 8 feet above the surrounding fields. Originally the place was surrounded by a ditch, now largely silted up and almost entirely under cultivation. General Cunningham gives the width of the ditch as 200 feet; but at present its width is not more than 125 ft. About the middle of the south side of the *gaṛh* there is a broad embankment across the ditch which, apparently, marks the site of a high road leading to the fort. The site was partially examined by General Cunningham in 1881 in the hope of finding some portions of the masonry ramparts of the fort, but no traces of any walls were disclosed. However, he discovered (1) a square copper coin cast in a mould and showing an elephant, tree and other symbols in relief and (2) an inkstand of burnt clay relieved with a large *triśūla* and bearing a short inscription reading *Śrī Vidasatya* (probably the name of the owner) in Gupta characters.

In 1904, Dr. Bloch of the Archæological Department made excavations at 8 different points on this ancient site. Some of his trenches extended over several hundred feet in each direction, and remains of masonry buildings were revealed at almost every place. Some of the walls were found only a few feet below the surface and probably belonged to the Muḥammadan times. Others, which were found at a depth of about five feet, reaching generally as far down as 9 or 10 feet, were looked upon by Dr. Bloch as the remains of ruined buildings seen by Yuan Chwang in the 7th century, though there was evidence (of seals, etc.) to prove that they went back to at least 300 A.D. if not to still earlier times. These remains represented the foundations of old buildings. In plan they were often very irregular and the rooms and chambers were remarkably small in size. The floors, which were to be seen in a few rooms only, were of concrete with a layer of bricks; the discovery of a large number of earthen tiles indicated that the houses must have been roofed with this material and the tops of the roofs crowned with pinnacles. All the build-

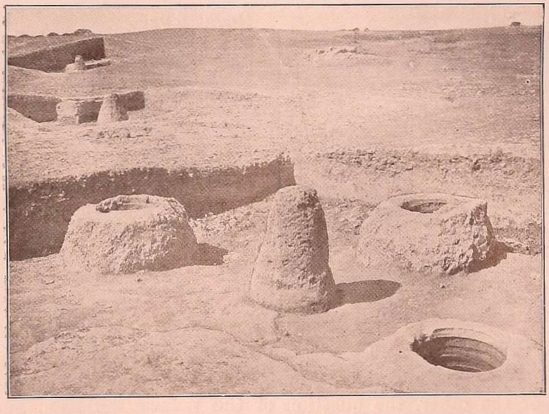


FIG. 13.—Rājā Biśāl kā gaṛh, Basāṛh: Excavated pits.

ings were purely secular in character and no remains of temples were found—a miniature stone figure of Gaṇeśa being the only religious carving brought to light. Ashes and small fragments of burnt wood were discovered on all sides showing that the place had probably been sacked and plundered in later times. The minor antiquities unearthed by Dr. Bloch included, among other things, a number of terracotta figures of inferior technique, some stone tablets relieved with floral and geometrical designs, a copper tripod, a dish of the same metal, and a few pieces of pottery. But the most interesting find made at the excavations consisted of some 720 pieces of clay bearing impressions of more than 1,100 seals. Almost all of these seals were discovered in a single small room, which was, in all probability, used for the deposit of refuse, as they were found mixed up with broken pottery, bones, burnt rice, ashes and other rubbish. They were originally attached to letters or other documents and belonged some to officials and some to private persons, generally bankers, merchants and traders, many of whom were members of mercantile guilds. Moreover, they were entirely secular with the exception of one bearing the mark of a *liṅga* with a *triśūla* on each side, which was taken to be the sign of a temple. All these seals belonged to about the 4th or 5th century A.D. and the ancient name of Tirhut, "Tīrabhukhti," occurred on two of them.

But though Dr. Bloch had found a maze of walls, he had not been able to discover any traces either of the masonry ramparts of the fort or of the Royal Palace. He had not, however, gone deeper than 10 or 12 feet anywhere except in the 3 small wells which he found close to each other. It was consequently decided in 1912 that Dr. Spooner, then Superintendent of Archæological Survey in the Eastern Circle, should carry out excavations at Basāṛh on a more extensive scale and try to solve, one way or the other, the question of the palace buildings and fort walls of Vaiśālī, and to ascertain at the same time whether or not the site could be ascribed to pre-Gupta times with certainty. Dr. Spooner started his work in the spring of 1912; and as almost all the walls exposed by the late Dr. Bloch had been removed by the villagers during the intervening years, he decided to explore the lower levels in these old trenches. A considerable area was thus cleared down to a depth of from 16 to 18 feet; but below this point the subsoil water prevented further deepening. Abundant evidence of human occupation, such as fragments of pottery, etc., was recovered "even when one thrust one's arm as far down as possible through the subsoil water

FIG. 14.—Rājā Biśāl kā gaṛh, Basāṛh. Pottery unearthed during Excavations.

in the small trial pits that were sunk here and there—all showing clearly that virgin soil had not yet been reached ". It was in one of these trial pits that Dr. Spooner recovered a fragment of dressed sandstone showing that magnificent polished surface which is associated with the sculpture of Aśoka's time.

But generally speaking the lower levels were disappointing. No monumental remains of any remote antiquity were found underneath Dr. Bloch's diggings with the exception of a round well and a few walls of no apparent importance near it. Several large square bricks "of an antiquity manifestly greater than that of any of the walls exposed" and large numbers of seals and pieces of pottery were, however, discovered, a few of the seals being ascribable to about the 3rd century B.C. Seals and a few coins and some well-preserved terracottas were, indeed, the only important finds of the season's work.

Dr. Spooner also made a last attempt to find some traces of the enclosing walls of the fortress and also of the Royal Palace of ancient Vaiśālī, for which both Cunningham and Bloch had hunted in vain. But he succeeded no better than his predecessors and this third attempt to recover the ramparts of Vaiśālī was also a failure. On this point, therefore, Dr. Spooner came to the conclusion that the only protection provided for the fortress was probably an embankment or wall composed of the sand and earth thrown out in digging the surrounding moat. Nor were any traces found of the palace. However, as Dr. Spooner's examination of the northern portion of the fort, where he believed the palace buildings were probably situated, was only a partial one and excavations were not carried down to a depth of more than 8 ft. below the surface, it is quite possible that important remains of the palace may yet be found either below Dr. Spooner's diggings or in some other portion of the site.

The most important finds made by Dr. Spooner were, as has been stated above, about 250 inscribed clay seals found in all portions of the site and at all depths from just below the surface to a depth of 18 ft. With the exception of a few official seals the collection consists of private seals bearing the names of individuals or guilds of merchants, traders and bankers. Almost every one of the seals, whether official or private, bears one or more symbols or devices besides the inscription. On official seals the design most commonly found is a figure of the goddess *Lakshmī* standing on a full-blown lotus with two elephants pouring water over her. In some cases she is attended by two dwarfish male figures with large bellies who might be taken as representations of *Kubera* the god of riches. On the seals of the guilds of bankers *Kubera* is represented holding a curious hemispherical object in his hands or pouring gold coins out of a money-bag. The seals of private individuals have a variety of devices such as a pair of human feet, a flower pot with conches, a shield, wheel, *kalaśa*, crescent, *śaṅkha*, *svastikā*, tree, etc., or some animal or bird such as a boar (probably representing the Varāhāvatāra), a peacock, bull, horse, lion and the like. A few of the more important of these seals are briefly described below:—

(1) 6 seals—4 found by Dr. Bloch (Nos. 63, 89, 101, and 129) and two by Dr. Spooner (Nos. 607 and 651)—bearing representations of the Persian fire-altar. Dr. Bloch's specimens are all inscribed, but the best preserved

is No. 101 on which the fire-altar is very distinct and the inscription reads "*Ravidāsa*—the slave of the Sun". The inscription on No. 607 of Dr. Spooner's collection reads—"*Bhagvata Ādityasya*". The fire-altar is also quite distinct on this specimen. According to Dr. Spooner these seals exhibit Īrānian (Magian) influence and he thinks that seal No. 607 evidently belongs to some temple sacred to the divinity "*of the Blessed Sun*" as worshipped by Indians of Magian descent (perhaps Śākadwīpī Brahmans)—for, he argues, if it had been merely a Hindu temple to that luminary, this form of altar would not have occurred. The seals belong to the Early Gupta period.

(2) Seal No. 800. The device on this seal is a *kalaśa* with one flower, and two tiny crescents to left and right just above the shoulders of the jar. The legend, which is in 3 lines, is engraved in characters of the Mauryan period and runs as follows :—

Ve Sā lī a nu
Ṭa kā re
Saṁ yā na ka

The first and the third lines are in larger letters than is the second. Dr. Spooner therefore reads it :—"*Vesālī Anusaṁyānaka Takāre*" and explains it as :—

"The Vaiśālī Patrol, Ṭakāra (outpost)."

(3) A well-cut stone matrix which is also ascribed by Dr. Spooner to the Mauryan epoch. It bears a taurine and a private individual's name reading *Sūjātarshasa.*

(4) A seal (No. 191) with an animated figure of Nrisiṁha—(*perhaps the oldest in India*)—seated on an altar with the left knee bent and the right foot resting on a long stool. The inscription is damaged. Gupta.

(5) A magnificent large official seal (No. 200), belonging to the "Minister of the Crown Prince". Gupta.

(6) Seal (No. 162), bearing the figure of a *winged* lion standing to right. No legend. Only example of a winged lion.

(7) Seal No. 159. It bears an interesting representation of a hemispherical stūpa with clear indications of a railing around the base and a square box-like receptacle or railing at the top decorated with long waving streamers sweeping down to right and left. No legend.

(8) Seal No. 211, showing a human figure possibly in the act of skipping with a rope! Legend effaced. Found 3 ft. 6 ins. below surface.

(9) No. 248. A most important seal bearing as device a bull, facing, standing in the centre with the legend in a continuous circle around the edge. Professors Rapson and Venis read the legend as follows :—

"*Rājnō mahākshatrapasya*
svāmi-Rudrasimhasya
duhitu Rājnō Mahākashatrapa-
sya svāmi Rudrasenasya
bhaginyā mahādevyā
Prabhudamāyā (*ḥ*)"

i.e. "(The seal) of the great Queen Prabhudamā, sister of the king, the Mahākshatrapa, svāmī Rudrasena, and daughter of the king, the Mahākshatrapa, svāmī Rudrasiṁha".

The few important finds besides the seals were (1) an admirably modelled terracotta head, (2) some terracotta plaques, one of which bears a winged human figure indicating foreign influence, and (3) a dozen copper and silver coins—three of which are apparently of the punch-marked type.

The discovery from Basāṛh of older seals and terracottas as well as of the punch-marked coins and the fragment of stone with Mauryan polish—all of which can, with more or less precision, be ascribed to about the 3rd century B.C.—is conclusive proof of the place having been in occupation during the Mauryan period. More substantial proofs would have been forthcoming had not the subsoil water prevented further deepening of the excavations below 18 feet.

The coins and almost all the terracottas and other minor antiquities recovered at Basāṛh by Dr. Spooner have now been transferred to the Patna Museum on loan from the Government of India, those discovered by Dr. Bloch having been previously deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A list of the coins is given below:—

Serial No.	Metal.	Type.	Obverse.	Reverse.
1	Æ	Punch-marked . .	Sun	Indistinct symbol.
2	Æ	Do. . . .	Indistinct . . .	Ditto.
3	Æ	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	Ditto.
4	Æ	Cast coin (circular) .	Elephant to l . .	Ujjain symbol.
5	Æ	Kanishka . . .	King standing at altar to l.	Wind God running to l.
6	AR	'Alāud-Dīn . . .	....	....
7	AR	Ditto . . .	....	....
8	Æ	Ibrāhīm Shāh, Sulṭān .	....	....
9-11	Æ	Three coins . . .	....	....
12	AR	One coin supplied by the	Collector of Muzaffarpur	District.

At the south-west angle of the *gaṛh* stands a small shrine of modern construction known as the Veṅkaṭeśvara temple. It contains brass figures of Rāma Sītā, Lakshamaṇa, Parsurāma, Sūrya and Lakshmī and twelve small *sālagrāms*—all of modern date. There are several other temples outside the fort area, some of them containing old images.

(*g*) None on surface; (*h*) with the exception of a few *bīghas* of land near the modern Venkaṭeśvara temple the area enclosed within the ramparts of the fort has not been cultivated. But

almost all the walls exposed during the recent excavations have disappeared, so that one only sees large irregular pits here and there. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 396-402; C. S. R., I, 55-58; XVI, 6-12 and 89-91; A. S. R. (1903-04), 73, 81-122 and pl. XXXIII; (1913-14), 98-185 and plates XI-L; A. S. R. E. C. (1902), 8; (1904), 17-20; (1911-12), 43-52; Dist. Gazet, Muzaffarpur, 138-41; Āīn-i-Akbarī (Gladwin), II, 198; J. A. S. B., (1835), 128; A. G. I., 443-46; (*k*) 203, 2046, 2157, 2158.

No. 11.—(*a*) Ruined brick stūpa with Muhammadan tombs on the top.

(*b*) About three hundred yards to the south-west of Rājā Biśāl kā gaṛh (No. 10); (*c*) A family of Muhammadan faqīrs; (*d*) II c; (*e*) The stūpa probably belongs to the Buddhist period; the oldest tomb to the end of the 15th century A.D.

(*f*) The mound is a solid mass of brickwork and stands 23 ft. 8 ins. high above the fields (Cunningham). The diameter at the base of the mound is about 140 feet. On the south side is a long flight of steps leading to the summit of the mound. No complete bricks are visible; but some of those used in the steps measure 2¾ ins. thick and nearly 9 ins. in width.

Fig. 15.—Tomb of Shāh Qāzin on the top of a stūpa mound, Basāṛh.

The top of the mound has been levelled up for the reception of Muhammadan tombs, the largest and the most important of which is known as Mīrānjī kī Dargāh, but really contains the relics of a well-known saint of this country named Shaikh Muḥammad Qāẕin. The full name of the saint was Shaikh Muḥammad Faiẕullāh Qāẕin Shuṭṭārī ibn Qāẕī 'Ulā ibn Qāẕī 'Ālam ibn Qāẕī Jamāluddīn ibn 'Alī ibn Sulaimān ibn Ṣalāḥuddīn ibn Ismā'īl ibn Imām Muḥammad Faqīh. The last named was one of the earliest Muslim missionaries in India and is generally known as Tāj Faqīh among his numerous descendants. He is believed to have wrested Maner from the local Hindū chief sometime about 576 A. H.=1180 A. D. and to have left three of his sons, named Isrā'īl, Ismā'īl and 'Abdul 'Az'īz, to propagate Islām in this country while he himself went back to Mecca, whence he had come and where his grave is still shown.

The eldest and the youngest brothers worked on this side of the Ganges while the second son Ismā'īl took upon himself the task of preaching the Truth in the provinces lying on the other side of the river. Of the descendants of Isrāīl, the eldest son of Imām Muḥammad Faqīh, the best known are Makhdūm

Sharfuddīn Bihārī, Qāẓī Yaḥyā and Shāh Daulat Manerī; of the descendants of the second son, Ismā'īl, the most famous was Shaikh Qāẓin of Banyā Basāṛh; and of the descendants of the third son, 'Abdul 'Azīz, the most renowned was Sulaimān Langar-Zamīn of Kāko in the Gaya District. Shaikh Qāzin was born at Maner on the 7th of Zil Hijja 838 A.H.=1434 A.D. and died on the 24th of Shawwāl 901 A.H.=1495 A.D.[1] He is said to have travelled all the way to Māndū in Central India to become a disciple of Shaikh 'Abdullāh Shuṭṭārī and soon became one of his best Khalīfas. He is the grand-*pīr* of Shāh Muḥammad Ghauṯh, one of the greatest saints of India, who is buried at Gwalior.

Shaikh Qāẓin had several sons. The eldest, Makhdūm Shaikh Ūwais, is said to have been killed by the Hindūs for attempting to build a mosque at Basāṛh—probably the same one the ruins of which are seen on the stūpa mound. Another son, named Abul Fatḥ, is buried in Tangol, near Hājīpūr, on the bank of the Gaṇḍak. Dīwān Shāh 'Alī, the saint of Jandahā, was a grandson of Shaikh Qāẓin.[2]

The tomb is surrounded by high brick walls on all sides and is approached by a long flight of steps on the south. An annual fair is held at the tomb on the 9th of the dark fortnight of *Chaitra*, when thousands of people assemble to pay homage to the saint, and offerings of sweetmeats (*malīda*) are made at the shrine. As the occurrence of this fair is regulated by the solar reckoning of the Hindūs, General Cunningham concluded that the festival must have been established long before the time of the saint. This seems to be perfectly reasonable. But when the General proceeds to connect the festival with some celebration in honour of the Buddha or of one of his disciples, simply because the fair is held beside the ruined stūpa, it is difficult to agree with his views. Almost all the fairs in this part of the country are held either on the 9th of *Chaitra*, which is the birthday of Rāma, or on the 13th of *Agahan*, which was the date of his marriage with Sītā. The cult of Vaishṇavism has undoubtedly been very strong in Tirhut, and it appears that the saint, who was a Muslim missionary, used to take advantage of the annual gathering for preaching the law of Islām to the people. The fact, however, that ever since his appearance in this country the fair has been held at his residence and burial-place would indicate that he must have been a very celebrated preacher.

Two ornamental stone pillars of mediæval date were found in excavating near the foot of the mound sometime before General Cunningham's visit to the place in 1861.

To the east of the tomb are the ruins of a small mosque. About 8 *bīghas* of land are attached to the tomb.

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[1] The phrase "*Qurb-i-Ḥaq Yāft*" (he obtained access to God) gives the date of the saint's death.

[2] The writer is indebted for all this information to Maulvis E'jāz Ḥasan Khān and Reyāẓ Ḥasan Khān of Rasūlpūr in the Muzaffarpūr District members of one of the most respectable families of Muhammadans in the Province and worthy descendants of Shaikh Qāẓin of Basāṛh and of Imām Muḥammad Faqīh. On their mother's side they can count Sulṭān Husain Shāh of Bengal amongst their ancestors.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) The stūpa and tombs are not in a good condition ; bricks are still dug out for repairing the stairs, etc. The immediate vicinity is extremely dirty ; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 400 ; C. S. R., I., 57 ; XVI, 91 ; A. S. R. E. C., (1904), 15 ; Dist. Gazet., Muzaffarpur, 139 ; J. A. S. B., (1835), 128-31 ; Riyāẓ., 44-45 ; Āīna, 91-92 ; Khazīna, II, 332 and 354 ; Mukhbiru-l-Wāsilīn, 107-108 ; 14 ; Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā, II, 580-83 ; (*k*) 238, 2048.

Kolhuā.

No. 12.—(*a*) Aśoka Column, locally known as *Bhīm Sen kī Lāṭhī.*

(*b*) Inside the house of Bābā Nārāin Dās Bairāgī, at Kolhuā, a small village situated some two miles to the north-west of *Rājā Biśāl kā Gaṛh* (No. 10) ; (*c*) Bābā Narāin Dās holds the land as a *brit* from Rāi Jang Bahādur and others of Bakhrā ; (*d*) Ic ; (*e*) Mauryan.

(*f*) The pillar is situated on the southern half of a large mound some 6 or 7 feet high above the surrounding fields and measuring nearly 1,000 ft. from north to south by about 600 ft. from east to west (Cunningham). The mound is entirely under cultivation now ; but it is believed to have originally formed a suburb of the ancient city of Vaiśālī the remains of which are described by Yuan Chwang as having occupied an area of 10 or 12 square miles. The pillar is a monolith of highly polished sandstone surmounted by a bell-shaped capital supporting a life-size figure of a lion facing the north. The shaft is 21 ft. 9 ins. high above the present ground level of the courtyard where it stands, but a considerable portion has sunk underground. General Cunningham excavated around it to a depth of 14 ft. below the level of the courtyard without reaching the base or even the rough unpolished portions towards the bottom of the pillar. He found, however, a few short records in shell-character engraved on the underground portion of the pillar, from which he concluded that at least another 4 or 5 feet still existed in the subsoil. He also found the column to be some 4 or 5 inches out of plumb and leaning westward. The shaft of the column, 36 ft. in height, tapers uniformly from a diameter of 49·8 inches at the water level to 38·7 inches at the top (Cunningham).

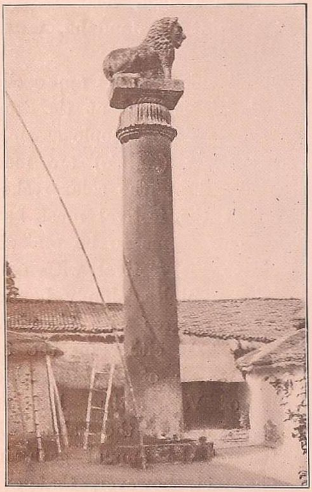

FIG. 16.—Asoka Column, Kolhuā.

The cap of the pillar is of the familiar bell shape, 2 ft. 10 ins. high, surmounted by a plain abacus which serves as the pedestal of a lion, 4 ft. 6 ins. in height, seated on its hind legs with mouth half open as if snarling and with the tongue slightly protruding. Below the conventional lotus decorating the bell are a bead-and-reel design and a fine cable ornament. Above it is a heavy cable necking separating the bell from the abacus, which is quite plain and oblong in shape. The abacus is formed in two steps, the lower one being

smaller than the upper, and is about a foot in height. The lion, which faces the north, is perfectly preserved, but its style is somewhat stiff and the fore-legs are apparently a little too short. The edges of the shaft have chipped off at the top just below the capital. The total height of the pillar is a little more than 30 ft. above the surface of the courtyard. An octagonal masonry plinth has been recently constructed around the base of the pillar and the circumference of the shaft immediately above the plinth is exactly 12 ft.

The pillar is sometimes spoken of as the Bakrā (or Bakhrā) column, probably because it was thus described by Mr. Stephenson, who was the first to bring it to the notice of scholars in 1835. But it would be more appropriate to call it after the name of the village within whose limits it stands *viz.* Kolhuā, which, by the way, is suggestive of the ancient Kollago, a suburb of Vaiśālī connected with the birth of Mahāvīra, the founder or rather the developer, of Jainism and a contemporary of the Buddha. The village (Kolhuā), however, is not frequented by the Jains.

The line of pillars in the Champāran and Muzaffarpur districts—at Rāmpurvā, Lauriyā Arārāj, Lauriyā Nandangaṛh and Kolhuā, evidently marks the course of the ancient royal highway from Pāṭaliputra to the Nepāl valley and may have been erected for the edification of travellers along the high road. But it has also been suggested that these pillars mark the stages of the Royal journey to Nepāl which Aśoka undertook in the 21st year of his reign in order to visit some of the holy places of Buddhism.

About 50 feet to the south of the column (outside the house) is a small tank, called Rāma Kuṇḍ, which has been identified by Cunningham with the ancient *Markaṭa-hrada* or "Monkey Tank", said to have been dug by a colony of monkeys for the use of the Buddha. Dr. Bloch described the tank in 1903 as "ancient brick-faced", but the brick facing is now all covered with mud, though there is little doubt that it must have measured about 200 ft. by 125 ft.

Some 20 yards to the north of the pillar, in front of the Bairāgī Bābā's house, there is a ruined stūpa at present only 15 feet high with a diameter of about 65 ft. at the base. It is believed to have been erected by Aśoka. The bricks used in its construction measure 12 ins. by $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Mr. Stephenson, who visited the monuments in 1835 A.D., mentions that the centre of the stūpa was excavated (about 1805 A.D.) by a doctor who was residing at Muzaffarpur, and that nothing was found inside. On the top of the stūpa is a modern brick temple, approached by a long flight of steps on the east, enshrining a well-preserved mediæval image of Buddha seated in the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā* under the Bodhi tree and wearing a high crown, necklaces and ear ornaments. It is a well known type exceedingly common among the Buddhist statues of the Pāla time in Bihār and frequently met with in the Gayā District. The relief measures 4 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 5 ins. including the pedestal; but the image is not life size as asserted by Cunningham. On both sides of Buddha's head are similar seated figures wearing crown and ornaments. Their

hands, however, are held in the attitude of prayer. Below each of these smaller figures is an inscription of 2 lines containing the Buddhist creed formula, and on the pedestal of the principal image is the following inscription in Nāgarī characters.

L. 1. "*....deyadharmmo=yaṁ pravara-mahāyānayāyinaḥ karaṇika Uchhāhah* (=*Utsāhasya*) *Māṇ[i]kya-sutasya.*

L. 2. "*Yad-atra puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatv=āchary-opādhyāya-mātāpitror-ātma-naś-cha purvvaṅgamaṁ [kṛ]*

L. 3. "*tvā sakala satva-rāśer-anuttara-jñanāvāptayaiti.*"

Translation.

"This is the pious gift of the great follower of the Mahāyāna system called Uchhāha, (or Utsāha), the writer and the son of Māṇikya. Whatever merit there may be in it let it be for the attainment of unequalled bliss for all the sentient beings beginning with the preceptor, the priest, the parents and himself."

The statue was dug out from one of the adjoining fields north of the stūpa, where extensive brick remains exist below the surface.

(*g*) There is no ancient inscription on the pillar, but General Cunningham, who excavated around it in 1860-61 right down to the water level, noticed a few short records on the shaft in the so-called shell-characters. Excavations were also made by Dr. Bloch in 1903, to ascertain if any inscription existed but nothing was found. The whole surface of the pillar is, however, disfigured up to a height of about 15 ft. with numerous rude scribblings by modern visitors most of which are either in English or in Nāgarī—some of the latter consisting of two or more lines but none apparently more than two or three hundred years old. The earliest of the English records read "G. H. Barlow, 1780" and "Reuben Burrow 1792." Rudely delineated human and animal figures and symbols such as scales, wheels, *nandipadas*, etc. are also engraved.

(*h*) Good; but the polished surface of the lower portion of the pillar, to a height of two to three feet above the present plinth, has peeled off all round the shaft. The north and east sides of the pillar have been affected most by weather and are quite black. (*j*) L. A. M. B. 396; C. S. R., I, 59-63; A. S. R., (1903-04) 83-84; Dist. Gazet. Muzaffarpur, 141-42; I. A., XVII (1888), 303-7; XVIII (1889), 1, 105, 300; Smith, Aśoka, 117-118; (*k*) Nos. 246, 1790, 2152, 2153.

SĀRAN DISTRICT.

Māñjhi.

No. 13.—(*a*) Remains of ancient fort.

(*b*) South-west of Māñjhī village, a railway station (on the B. & N. W. Railway) some twelve miles north-west of Chapra; (*c*) Bābū Rājā Rām of Patna and Mahant Rām Partāb Gīr, Rām Charitan Lāll and others of Māñjhī; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) Probably Gupta.

(*f*) The remains at Māñjhī are buried in a very large and lofty mound roughly elliptical in shape with a well defined upper edge of substantial width due, apparently, to the presence of some buried circumvallation around it, thus justifying the popular designation of the place as a *gaṛh* or fortress. Nor is the existence of the surrounding rampart open to any real doubt, since a cutting into the mound which the villagers made some years ago in an attempt to irrigate its upper levels, disclosed a narrow but fairly lofty bit of solid masonry in the north-west portion of the mound which has every appearance of being a bit of the original rampart wall. It is not known how far down this masonry may go; but from the level where it was first met with by the villagers, it rises some eight feet or more and leads to a right-angle turning, or projecting bay, of which a length of about 10 feet is now visible. The walls are built with a slight batter, sloping inward as they rise, and the bricks of which they are constructed measure 18 ins. by 10 ins. by 3 ins. being apparently of Gupta date. Other cuttings and water channels in the mound disclose abundant brick debris and masses of potsherds, besides several fragments of walls. The upper surface of the mound, within the circuit of the raised edge, slopes gently towards the centre, giving the whole somewhat the appearance of an ancient crater. Roughly the area enclosed within the ramparts measures about 1,050 feet east to west by about 1,400 feet north to south and the whole of this area is completely under cultivation.

FIG. 17.—Site of ruined fort, Māñjhī.

Judging from the considerable width of the raised edge it would appear that the fortification walls were further strengthened with earthen ramparts both inside and outside, the earth dug out from the surrounding ditch being employed for the purpose. On the south and west sides of the fort the river provides a strong natural defence. But a broad ditch was certainly provided on the north and east, though it has entirely silted up now (except in one or two places on the north) and is planted as a rice field.

In the southern line of ramparts there are remains of two vaulted underground passages which run straight for a distance of 10 to 15 feet and then take a turn to right and left. They are very narrow, being only 2 ft. 6 ins. wide, and were probably used as secret passages to serve in emergencies. At present they are damaged and nearly blocked up.

Very little seems to have been found by the local people within the precincts of the fort except the two small statues now deposited at the little shrine known by the imposing name of Mādheśvara-mandira to the south-west of the fort. The only point of interest in regard to these is that one of them is a Mediæval image (height 13 ins.) of Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*.

The remains are not mentioned by General Cunningham. They are, however, one of the largest and seemingly the most important of the remains in the District of Sāran. Colonel Vost attempted to identify them with the ancient Vaiśālī; while Dr. Hoey was inclined to believe the site to be the place where the Buddha parted from the Lichhavis of Vaiśālī on his way to Kuśinara. Dr. Hoey's opinion, however, rested on the assumption that the ancient Vaiśālī stood at Cheran, six miles east of Chaprā. But as it has been definitely established now that Vaiśālī was situated at what is now called "*Rājā Biśāl kā gaṛh*" in the modern village of Basāṛh in the Muzaffarpur District (see No. 10), we may leave the identity of the remains at Māñjhī an open question.

An interesting fact in connection with the fort is the tradition preserved up to this day in the village that, whoever the Rājā was who built the fort, he was not a Hindū of a respectable standing, but belonged to some lower caste, possibly a Ḍom or Dosādh or perhaps a Mallāḥ (for Mallāḥs, boatmen, are also called Māñjhīs), and that from one of the imprudent descendants of the founder who sought the hand of a Rājpūt princess in marriage the fort was wrested by the Harihobans Rājpūts of Haldī (Balliā) by a trick. Another tradition asserts that the fort was built by one Māñjhī Makra of the Chero Dynasty; and the family records of the Harihobans Rājpūts of Haldī in the adjoining district of Balliā (U. P.), state that their forefathers settled at Māñjhī on the bank of the Ghāgrā river and, after a protracted struggle, conquered the aboriginal Cheros who had been lords of the country. The ramparts of the fort are, on the average, about 30 feet high above the surrounding fields. To east of the fort is another large and low plateau covered with potsherds and brick-bats. It is called the site of the Rājā's Kachahrī.

(*g*) In 1915 when Dr. Spooner visited the site one of the villagers, Pasupati Ojhā by name, showed him two bricks, one of which is inscribed and bears the name *Śṛī Prathāmāditya*, in characters of about the 6th century A.D. Dr. Spooner suggests that the inscription probably gives the name of a hitherto unkown Prince of the Gupta dynasty. The brick measures 13 ins. by 8 ins. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. and is now preserved in the office of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

(*h*) The area enclosed within the ramparts is almost entirely under cultivation. (*j*) J. A. S. B., (1900), 82; (1903), p. 583; Dist. Gazet., Saran, 158-9; A. S. R. E. C., (1908-09), 16-18; Oldham, Memoirs, Part I, 55; Dist. Gazet., Ballia (U. P.), 90; (*k*) 2165, 2169.

PATNA DIVISION.

GAYĀ DISTRICT.

Barābar.

No. 14.—(*a*) The Karaṇ Chaupāṛ or Supiya cave.

(*b*) In the northern face of a granite ridge of the Barābar Hills situated about 8 miles east of Bela, a small station on the Patna-Gaya Branch of the East Indian Railway; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) 245 B.C. (?).

(*f*) In the Barābar group of hills there are several distinct peaks enclosing between them a small valley or basin about 400 yards in length and 250 yards in width.[1] Towards the southern corner of this basin are two sheets of water; and to south of them a low range of granite hills, some 500 feet long, 100 feet wide and 30 feet high, runs from east to west. This contains three of the four ancient caves locally known as the Satghara.[2] The top of the ridge is rounded and falls rapidly towards the east. It is divided longitudinally by natural cleavage into three separate masses. The Karaṇ Chaupāṛ is excavated in the central mass of the rock, which is about 250 feet long with a perpendicular face towards the north. The approach to the caves is over granite rocks provided with narrow steps cut in the rock and now worn smooth and slippery by the feet of innumerable pilgrims. Originally excavated by the Emperor Aśoka for the occupation of the Ājīvika ascetics the caves were used as Brahmanical shrines in the 4th century A.D. when King Śārdūla Varmā placed images of Deva Mātā, Kātyāyanī and Mahādeva in three of them. The present names of all the Satghara caves are evidently mediæval or modern.

The Barābar Hills stand 15 or 16 miles in direct line, and 19 miles by road, to north of Gaya. The caves have been excavated with infinite labour in remarkably shaped masses of quartzose gneiss. Two of them, now known as the Lomas Rishi and Viśva Jhopṛī, are incomplete. The Lomas Rishi bears two later inscriptions of the 3rd-4th century A.D. but no Brāhmī inscription. The remaining three caves in the Barābar group were dedicated by Aśoka, two when he had been consecrated 12 years (*i.e.* about 257 B.C.) and the third seven years later (about 250 B.C.). The first two, now known as the

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[1] This area according to General Cunningham was enclosed on all sides by hills or masonry walls and was called Baṛā Awār 'The great enclosure', whence, he says, the present name of Barābar seems to be derived. But the writer begs to differ from this view. The inscription on the Lomas Rishi cave calls it the Pravaragiri-guhā, and though *Pravara* literally means great, it might perhaps be taken as the proper name of the hill. From Pravara, Barābar would be an easy corruption.

[2] Called Haft K͟hāna in the J. A. S. B. for 1837. These names mean "the seven chambers", and the four caves are so called because they contain seven rooms in all.

Sudāmā and Viśva Jhopṛī, were bestowed on the Ājīvikas, who are also mentioned in Pillar Edict VII along with the Jains and Buddhists, as one of the leading sects of the time. They were naked ascetics addicted to rigorous penances and closely related to the Jains. By granting them costly benefactions Aśoka proved the sincerity of his declaration that he did reverence to all denominations. Buddhist literature shows that the Ājīvikas were regarded with intense aversion by many Buddhists. The inscription in the third cave (Karaṇ Chaupāṛ) is so much damaged that it is impossible to say what it records or to whom the dwelling was granted.

The three caves in the Nāgarjunī hills are about a mile distant from the Barābar group and were dedicated by Dasaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, two to the Ājīvikas and one to the Bhadantas or Buddhist monks.

The cost of these cave dwellings must have been enormous, for the excavations are of considerable size and every inch of the interior walls and roofs is highly polished and burnished like glass; and the stone is of the hardest and most refractory character. The Barabar caves are generally visited by almost all the Hindu pilgrims who go to pay their homage to the Siddheśvara Liṅga on the great hill near by. The whole locality has a strangely weird and desolate aspect. Indications of old buildings however exist, and Cunningham believed that a town once stood within the Barābar ring of hills; but it is doubtful.

The Karaṇ Chaupāṛ cave, called Supiyā-guhā in the inscription, faces the north and consists of a single chamber measuring 33 ft. 6 ins. in length by 14 ft. in width. The entrance doorway has sloping jambs. The walls of the cave are 6 ft. high and the vaulted roof has a rise of 4 ft. 9 ins., making the total height 10 ft. 9 ins. At the west end of the chamber is a raised platform 7 ft. 6 ins. long, 2 ft. 6 ins. wide and 1 ft. 3 ins. high, which may have been used as the pedestal for a statue. With the exception of this platform, the whole interior surface of the cave bears a high polish. Outside the cave, to west, is a small rock, on the east face of which are rudely carved two human figures and a *liṅga*. Opposite the cave is the highest peak of the Barābar hills, known as the Siddheś-vara. On the top of it is a temple containing a *liṅga* called Siddheśvara, which from an inscription in one of the neighbouring caves is known to be as old as the 6th or 7th century A.D.

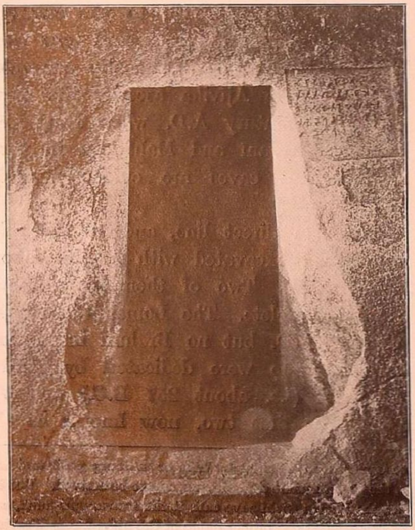

Fig. 18.– Karan Chaupār Cave, Barābar Hills.

(*g*) (*i*) At the upper right hand corner of the doorway (outside) a small square space has been chiselled smooth and engraved with an ancient Brāhmī inscription of 5 lines, now badly damaged. The inscription reads as follows :—

1. Lā (jā) Piyadasī e(ku)n(a)-(vī)-
2. sati-vasā(bh)isi(t)ē......
3. ....uthāta..................
4. supi. y ē kha....................i
5. nā.

Translation.

'The King's Grace when consecrated nineteen years granted (?) the Supiyā cave in the (?) Khalatika hill for as long as sun and moon shall endure.'

(*ii*) Besides the above inscription, a number of short records containing names of visitors etc. are engraved on the jambs of the doorway.

(*h*) Good ; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 40-45, 51-53 and Plates XVIII, XIX, XX ; L. A. M. B., 316-18 ; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 37-43 ; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, Vol. I, 130-33 ; S. A. B., XII, 58-9 ; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 201-05 ; Martin's Eastern India, I, 101-05.

(*k*) 2318.

No. 15.—(*a*) The Sudāmā or 'Banyan tree' cave ;

(*b*) Situated in the same granite ridge as the Karaṇ Chaupāṛ, but on the opposite or south side ; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj ; (*d*) Ic ; (*e*) Reign of Aśoka (257 B.C. ?).

(*f*) The Sudāmā cave is excavated in the opposite side of the granite ridge and faces the south. The entrance door has sloping jambs and is sunk in a recess $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square and 2 feet deep. The cave consists of two chambers, an outer chamber (32 ft. 9 ins. by 19 ft. 6 ins.) in front, and an inner one to west. The inner room is approximately circular in plan measuring some 19 ft. in diameter. It has a hemispherical domed roof which projects beyond the partition wall into the outer apartment, and is considerably undercut as if to represent a thatch with overhanging eaves. The interior is beautifully polished. The walls are 6 ft. 9 ins. in height to the springing of the roof, which has a rise of 5 ft. 6 ins. making the total height of the chamber 12 ft. 3 ins. in the centre. At the east end of the apartment is a shallow arched recess, which may have been intended as a niche for a cult image or, more

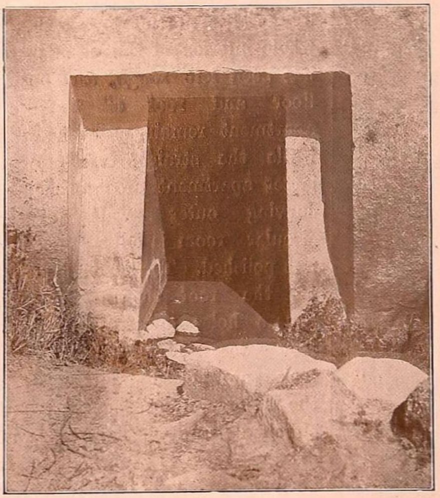

FIG. 19.—Sudāmā Cave, Barābar Hills.

probably, as an entrance to another chamber. But the work was abandoned soon after its commencement, and remains rough and unfinished.

(*g*) (*i*) On the east wall of the porch is an inscription of 2 lines in ancient Brāhmī characters. Part of the inscription has been damaged but the letters are still distinctly traceable. The inscription reads :—

1. Lājinā Piyadasinā duvāḍasa-(vas=abhi sitenā).......
2. (iya)ṁ nigōha-kubhā di(nā āgī vikehi) (I).

Translation.

'This "banyan-tree" cave was granted to the Ājīvikas by the King's Grace when he had been consecrated twelve years.'

(*ii*) On the jambs are engraved several short records containing names of visitors.

(*h*) The cave is full of water ; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 45-46 ; L. A. M. B., 318 ; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 37-43 ; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, I, 130-33 ; S. A. B., XII, 58-9 ; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 202 ; Martin's Eastern India, I, 104 ; I. A., (1891), 361-65 ; (*k*) 2319.

No. 16.—(*a*) The Lomas Rishi Cave, called Pravaragiriguhā or "The Great Mountain cave" in the inscription.

(*b*) A few yards to east of the Sudāmā cave, in the same ridge ; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj ; (*d*) Ic ; (*e*) The inscription on the cave belongs to the early Gupta period ; the cave might be older.

(*f*) This cave also consists of a large rectangular chamber in front and a small one roughly circular to west. The large chamber measures 32 ft. 4 ins. by 19 ft. 4 ins., the rounded one 14 ft. 3 ins. east to west by 17 ft. north to south. The whole interior of the circular room has been left rough, and both the floor and roof of the outer apartment remain unfinished ; and while the straight walls of this latter apartment are polished, the curving outer wall of the circular room is only smoothed—not polished. The unfinished work of the roof shows that small square holes measuring about a foot were first made in the rock at close intervals and the intervening masses then chiselled away. The excavation of the roof is believed to have been abandoned owing to the presence of a deep fissure which forms one of the natural lines of cleavage in the rock.

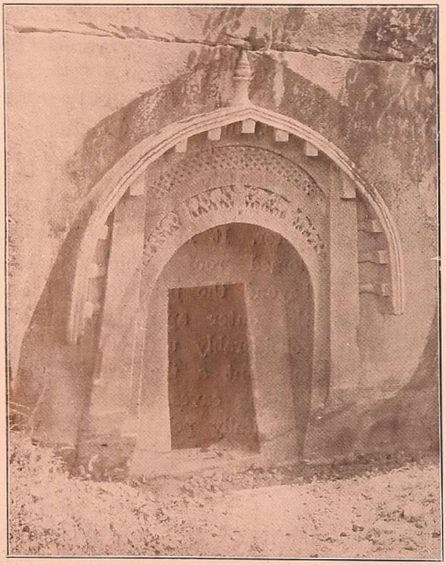

FIG. 20.—Lomas Rishi Cave, Barābar Hills.

The doorway of this cave is of exactly the same size and form as that of the Sudāmā cave (No. 15); but the entrance porch is larger and more elaborate and is carved to represent the ornamental arched entrance of a wooden building, the ends of the wooden beams supporting the gable being indicated with much precision. The arch is surmounted by a finial and the space above the inscription is carved with a frieze of elephants (and votive stūpas ?) below, another of quatrefoil flowers appearing above. The latter carving was thought by General Cunningham to represent bamboo lattice work, but this would appear to be doubtful. General Cunningham also considered (and he has been followed by Fergusson and others) that the sculptured façade of the cave was added at a later date, *viz.* in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., when the original inscription of Aśoka's time was obliterated and new ones of Śārdūla Varmā and Ananta Varmā were inscribed in its place. This may or may not have been so, for the cave was never finished. The similarity of its arrangement and dimensions to the Sudāmā cave would seem to indicate its having been originally excavated about the same time as the other caves in this group, in the 3rd century B.C.: but this of course is not conclusive and the excavation may not antedate the inscriptions on its façade.

FIG. 21.—Detail of carvings on the entrance porch of Lomas Rishi cave, Barābar Hills.

(*g*) In the semi-circular space above the doors are two inscriptions in characters of about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The upper one, consisting of two lines, (in the Sragdhara metre) is somewhat later in date and reads as follows:—

1. *Om Bhūpānā(ṁ) Maukharīṇāṁ Kulamatanuguṇo laṁchakār-ātmajātyā*
   Śrī Śārddūlasya yo-bhūj-jana-hṛidayaharo=Nantavarmā suputraḥ
2. *Krishṇasy-ākrishṇa-kīrttiḥ pravara-giri-guhāsaṁśritaṁ viṁvam-ētat*
   Mūrttaṁ loke yaśah svaṁ rachitaṁ-iva mudā=chīkarat-kāntimat saḥ.

Translation.

Om! He, ANANTAVARMAN, who was the excellent son, captivating the hearts of mankind, of the illustrious SARDULA, (and) who, possessed of very great virtues adorned by his own (high) birth the family of the MAUKHARI kings,—he, of unsullied fame, with joy caused to be made, as

if it were his own fame represented in bodily form in the world, this beautiful image, placed in (this) cave of the mountain PRAVARAGIRI, of (the god) Kṛishna.

(*ii*) The lower inscription consists of 4 lines, the letters being somewhat larger than in the upper. It reads as follows :—

3. *Kālaḥ śatru-mahī-bhujāṁ praṇayināṁ ichchhā-phalaḥ pādapo*
Dīpaḥ kshattra-kulasya naika-samar-vyāpāra-śobhāvataḥ
4. *Śrī-Śārdūla iti pratishṭhita-yaśāḥ sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇiḥ*
Kāntā-chitta-haraḥ smara-prati-samaḥ pātā babhūva kshitēḥ
5. *Śrī-Śārdūla-nṛipaḥ karoti vishamāṁ yattra svadṛishtiṁ ripau*
Utpakshāṁta-vilōhitoru-tarala-spashṭeshṭa-tārāṁrushā
6. *Tat-putrasya pataty=anantasukhadasy=Ānantavarmmaśruteḥ*
Tatrākarṇa-vikṛishta-śārṅgaśaradhivyastas-śar ō-tt(nt)āvahaḥ.

Substituting '*sainya*' army, for *śatru* (written *shatru*) enemy, the meaning will be :

Translation.

(Lines 3—4).—The illustrious SĀRDŪLA, of firmly established fame, the best among chieftains, became the ruler of the earth :—he who was a very Death to hostile kings ; who was a tree, the fruits of which were the (fulfilled) wishes of (his) favourites ; who was the torch of the family of the warrior caste, that is glorious through waging many battles ; (and) who, charming the thoughts of lovely women, resembled (the god) Smara.

(Ll. 5—6).—On whatsoever enemy the illustrious king SĀRDŪLA casts in anger his scowling eye, the expanded and tremulous and clear and beloved pupil of which is red at the corners between the up-lifted brows,—on him there falls the death-dealing arrow, discharged from the bowstring drawn up to (his) ear, of his son, the giver of endless pleasure, who has the name of ANANTAVARMAN.

(*h*) Good ; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 46-47 ; L. A. M. B., 318 ; Fergusson, Cave Temples of India, 37-43 ; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, Vol. I, 130-33 ; S. A. B., XII, 58-9 ; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 202-03 ; J. A. S. B., VI, (1837), 674-76 ; Martin's Eastern India, I, 104-05. (*k*) 2320-23. Corpus Ins. Indi., Vol. III, No. 48.

No. 17.—(*a*) The Viśva meñṛhi or Viśva Jhopṛī cave.

(*b*) In a great block of granite lying about 100 yards to the east of, and at a somewhat lower level than, the ridge containing the three caves described above (Nos. 14, 15, and 16) ; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj ; (*d*) Ic ; (*e*) According to an inscription on the cave, it was excavated in the 12th year of Aśoka's reign (*i.e.* in 257 B.C. ?).

(*f*) The cave faces south and consists of an antechamber with a small circular room at the back. The inner room, which is 11 ft. in diameter, is rough and unfinished. The antechamber measures about 14 feet deep by 8 ft. 4 ins. wide and is polished throughout. In its floor near the eastern and west-

ern walls are four oblong socketholes (about 10 inches long, 3 to 4 inches wide and half an inch deep) which may have been intended for the reception of timber framing, as suggested by Major Kittoe. The roof of the antechamber is flat.

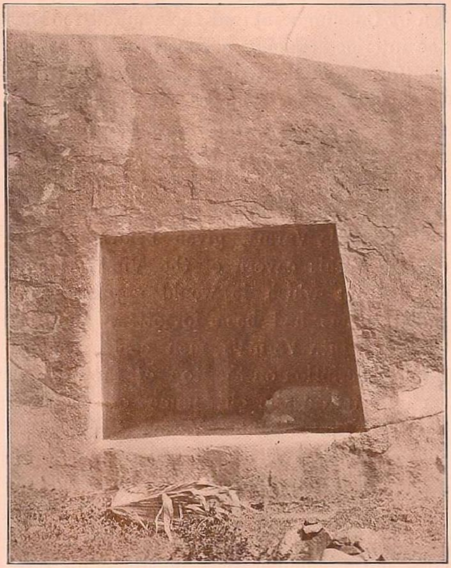

FIG. 22.—Viśva Jhopṛī Cave, Barābar Hills.

(*g*) On the right hand wall of the antechamber is an inscription of 4 lines in archaic Brāhmī characters reading as follows:—

1. *Lājinā Piyadasinā duvā-*
2. *dasa-vas-ābhisitēnā iyaṁ*
3. *kubhā Khalatika-pavatasi*
4. *dinā (jîvi)kēhi.*

Translation.

"This cave in the Khalatika hill was granted to the Ājīvikas by the King's Grace when he had been consecrated twelve years."

The last five letters of the inscription have been purposely mutilated with the chisel, but they are still legible.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C. S. R., I, 47-48; L. A. M. B., 318, Fergusson, Cave Temples, 37-43; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, I, 130-33; S. A. B., XII, 58-59; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 203; Martin's Eastern India, I, 101-05; I. A., XX, (1891), 361-65.) (*k*) 2324.

No. 18.—(*a*) The Gopī or Milkmaid's cave.[1]

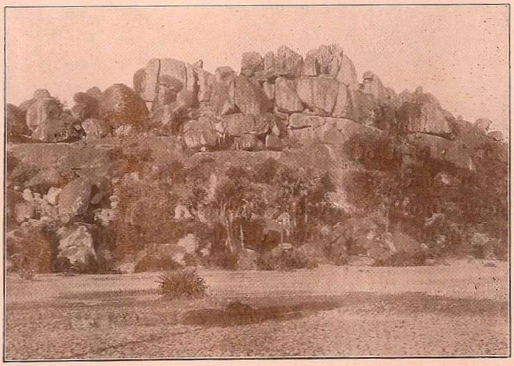

FIG. 23.—Distant view of Gopī Cave, Barābar Hills.

(*b*) In the Nāgarjunī range, about half a mile to north-east of the Barābar range; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) 214 B.C. ?.

(*f*) The Gopī cave is excavated in the southern face of the rock at a height of 50 to 60 feet above the ground. It is approached by a flight of stone steps; but the entrance is concealed by a tree and the wall of an *'Īdgāh*, both the steps and the *'Īdgāh* having been constructed by Muḥammadans about 200 years

[1] The three caves in the Nāgarjunī group appear to have been occupied at one time by the followers of Nāgarjuna, the famous Buddhist patriarch.

back. The cave measures 44 ft. 7 ins. long from east to west (not 46 ft. 5 ins. as given by Cunningham) and is 19 ft. 1 in. wide, both ends being semi-circular. The walls are 6 feet high (not 6 ft. 6 ins. as given by Cunningham) and the vaulted roof has a rise of 4 feet above. The whole of the interior is highly polished and quite plain. Towards the east end is a low brick platform of modern date, and the cave is still used by the Muḥammadans of the neighbouring villages for depositing the remains of *Ta'zias*. The doorway of the cave has the usual sloping jambs measuring 2 ft. 6 ins. in width at the top and 3 ft. at the bottom.

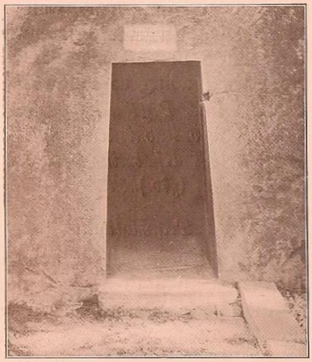

FIG. 24.—Gopī Cave, Barābar Hills.

In the later inscription of Ananta Varmā, son of Śārdūla Varmā, given below, the cave is called "this cavern of the Vindhya mountains" from which it would appear that its original name had been forgotten and that none of Ananta Varmā's men could read the Brāhmī inscription on the top of the doorway which contained the old name of the cave. The fact that Ananta Varmā installed the image of a Hindu Goddess Kātyāyanī (a form of Durgā) in this cave shows how the Buddhists were losing ground in this tract as early as the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era.

At the foot of the hill, to south, are a number of Muḥammadan graves some three or four hundred years old, according to Cunningham.

(*g*) Immediately over the doorway, on the outside, there is a small sunken panel containing a short inscription of 4 lines in ancient Brāhmī, reading as follows :—

1. *Gopik(ā) kubhā Dashalathēna dēvānaṁ piyēnā*
2. *ānaṁtaliyaṁ abhisitēna (Ājīvikēhi)*
3. *bhadaṁtēhi vāsha-nishidiyāyē nishiṭhē*
4. *ā-chaṁdama-shūliyaṁ.*

Translation.

"The Gopī's cave, an abode lasting as the Sun and the Moon, was caused to be excavated by Dasaratha, beloved of the Devas, on his accession to the throne, as a hermitage for the most devoted *Bhadantas* (Buddhist ascetics)."

(*ii*) On the left or western (not eastern as mentioned by Cunningham) jamb of the doorway is an inscription of 10 lines reading as follows :—

Om Unnidrasya sarōruhasya sakalām-ākshipya śobhāṁ ruchā sāvajñaṁ mahishāsurasya śirasi nyastaḥ kvaṇannūpuraḥ devyā vaḥ sthirā-bhakti-vāda-sadriśīṁ yunjan-phalenārthitām disyādā-chanakhāṁśujālajatilaḥ pādaḥ padaṁ sampadāṁ (1) Āsīdishṭhasamṛiddhayajña-mahimā śrī-yajña-varmmā nripaḥ prakhyāto vimale-ṅdu-nirmmalaya-śāḥkshāttrasya-dhāmnaḥ padaṁ prajnānānvayadāna-vikrama-guṇair-yo rāja kasyāgraṇīḥ bhūtvāpi prakṛitistha-eva vinayā-daksho-bhyasat(t)vodadhiḥ (2) Tasyodīrṇa mahārṇavo-pamaraṇa-vyāpāra-labdhaṁ yaśaḥ tanvānaḥ kakudaṁ makhēshu kakubhāṁ kīrtyājit-ēdaṁyugah. Śrī-mān-bandhu-suhṛijjana-praṇayinām āśaḥ phalaiḥ pūrayan putraḥ

kalpa-taror-ivā pta-mahimā Śārdūla-varmmā-nṛipaḥ (3) *Tasyānantamanaṁta-kīrtti-yaśaso Nantādivarmmākhyayā khyātēnāhita-bhakti-bhāvita-dhiyā putreṇa pūtātmanā āsūr-rya-kshiti-chandra-tārakam-iyaṁ puṇyāspadaṁ vāñchhatā vinyastādbhuta-vindhya-bhū-dhara-guhām-āśritya-kātyāyanī* (4) *Dhautāṅhō mala-paṅka-dōsham-amalairm-māhānadai-ram bubhiḥ-vyādhūtopavana-priyaṅgu-vakulairamoditaṁ vāyubhiḥ kalpāntā-vadhi-bhog-yaṁ-uchchha-śikhari-chchāyā-vṛitārkkadyutiṁd*[– –]*-grāma-manalpbhōga-vibhavaṁ ram-yaṁ bhavānyai dadau* (5).

Translation.

Om! May the foot of (the goddess) Devi, fringed with the rays of (fts) pure nails, point out the way to fortune, endowing with a (suitable) reward your state of supplication which is such as befits the expression of firm devotion;—(that foot) which, surpassing in radiance all the beauty of a full-blown waterlily, was disdainfully placed, with its tinkling anklet, on the head of the demon Mahishāsura.

(Line 3).—There was a king, the illustrious YAJÑAVARMAN, possessed of greatness by celebrating copious sacrifices; renowned; possessed of fame as pure as the spotless moon; the abode of (all) the dignity of one of the warrior caste;—who, though he was the foremost of all kings in respect of wisdom, (high) descent, liberality, and prowess, yet, through modesty, was (like) an ocean which adheres to the natural state (of tranquillity), (and) the calmness of which is never to be disturbed.

(L. 5).—His son (was) the king ŚĀRDŪLAVARMAN, who stretched out over the faces of the points of the compass, (as) an emblem of sovereignty, the renown that he had acquired in the occupation of war resembling (in its extensiveness) the great swollen ocean; who conquered (the stains of) this present age with (his) fame; who was illustrious; (and) who acquired, as it were, the glory of the *Kalpa*-tree, by satisfying with rewards the wishes of (his) relatives and friends.

(L. 7).—Of him, who was always possessed of infinite fame and renown, the son (is) he, pure of soul, (and) possessed of intellect animated with innate piety, who is known by the appellation of VARMAN commencing with ANANTA;—by whom, desiring a shrine of religious merit that should endure as long as the sun, the earth, the moon, and the stars, this (image of) (the goddess) Kātyāyanī has been placed in (this) wonderful cave of the VINDHYA mountains.

(L. 9).—He has given to (the goddess) Bhavani, to be enjoyed up to the time of the destruction of all things, the charming village of........, possessed of a great wealth of enjoyment,—the sin, impurity, mud, and blemishes of which are washed away by the pure waters of a great river;—which is filled with perfume by the breezes that agitate the *priyamgu* and *vakula* trees in (its) groves;—(and) from which the radiance of the sun is screened off by (this) lofty mountain.

(*iii*) On the right or eastern jamb of the door is a short inscription in large letters of the 7th or 8th century A.D. reading "*Āchārya Śrī Yogānanda*", *i.e.* "The teacher Śrī Yogānanda", whose name also appears on another cave.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C. S. R., I, 47-49; L. A. M. B., 318-21; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 37-43; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, I, 130-33; S. A. B., XII, 58-59; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 203; J. A. S. B., VI, (1837), 672-74; Martin's Eastern India, I, 101-05; I. A., XX, (1891), 361-65; Corpus Ins. Indi., Vol. III, No. 50; (*k*) 2325, 2326.

No. 19.—(*a*) The Vahiyākā Cave.

(*b*) In a low rocky spur of the Nāgarjunī hill, to north of the large ridge containing the Gopī cave; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) Reign of Dasaratha, grandson of Aśoka.

(*f*) The Vahiyākā cave consists of a single chamber (16 ft. 9 ins. long by 11 ft. 3 ins. wide) with a small porch in front, both thoroughly polished throughout. The walls are only 4 ft. 9 ins. high and the arched roof has a rise of 2 ft. 8 ins., the total height thus being 7 ft. 5 ins. in the centre. The door-way has sloping jambs and faces the south. The porch is 6 feet high and 5½ feet wide, with a depth of 5 ft. 2 ins. at the floor level; but the projection is reduced to 1 ft. 9 ins. at the top owing to the slope of the rock face. Immediately in front of the cave, close against the rock, was a large brick platform, part of which has disappeared and the rest is overgrown with jungle. Some 50 feet to south of the cave is a deep well 8 feet in diameter. It is filled with water, and its mouth is concealed by bushes. Buchanan Hamilton calls this cave Mirzā Mandai or Mirzā's house, from which it appears that it was occupied by Muḥammadans for some time.

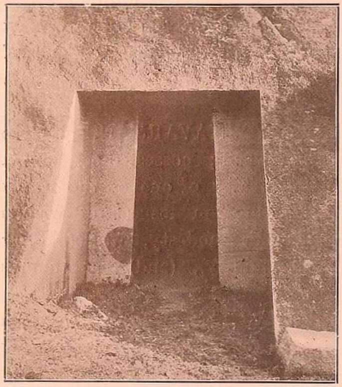

FIG. 25.—Vahiyākā cave, Nāgarjunī hill, Barābar.

(*g*) On the left hand side of the porch is an inscription of 4 lines in ancient Brāhmī characters, in which the cave is called the Vahiyākā kubha. Dr. Bühler suggested that Vahiyākā was probably "the feminine of an adjective which may be derived from Vāhya, a palankeen or sofa and qualifies kubha". The remainder of the inscription is word for word the same as that on the Gopī's cave mentioned above, No. 18.

(*ii*) Besides this, there are several short inscriptions on the side walls of the porch and on the jambs of the doorway recording the names of visitors. The longest of them reads:—

"*Āchārya Śrī Yogānanda praṇamati Siddhesvara*"

i.e. "The teacher Śrī Yogānanda offers adoration to Siddheśvara."

In this inscription we find the name of the *liṅga*, now existing in the temple on the Siddheśvara peak, recorded in characters of the 6th or 7th century A.D. A still older inscription, *Videsa Vasusya kīrttiḥ* or "the renown of Vasu of Videsa", belongs to the Gupta period.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C. S. R., I, 49-50; L. A. M. B., 320; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 37-43; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, I, 130-33; S. A. B., XII, 589; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 204; Martin's Eastern India, I, 101-05; J. A. S. B., VI, (1837), 676-80; I. A., XX, (1891), 361-65; (*k*) 2327.

No. 20.—(*a*) The Vedathikā cave.

(*b*) In the Nāgarjunī hill; immediately to west of the Vahiyākā cave (No. 19), in a gap or natural cleft of the same rock; (*c*) Nine annas Ṭikārī Rāj; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) Reign of Dasaratha (214 B.C.?).

(*f*) The entrance to the Vedathikā cave, which faces the east, lies in a gap or natural cleft of the rock to west of the Vahiyākā cave (No. 19). The doorway has sloping jambs, the width of the entrance decreasing from 3 feet at the base to 2 ft. 6 ins. at the top. At the inner face of the doorway are socket holes, both above and below, for the reception of wooden shutters. The cave itself measures 16 ft. 9 ins. by 11 ft. 3 ins. (not 16 ft. 4 ins. by 4 ft. 3 ins. as mentioned by Cunningham) and has been divided into two rooms by a brick wall with a very small window opening at the left lower corner.

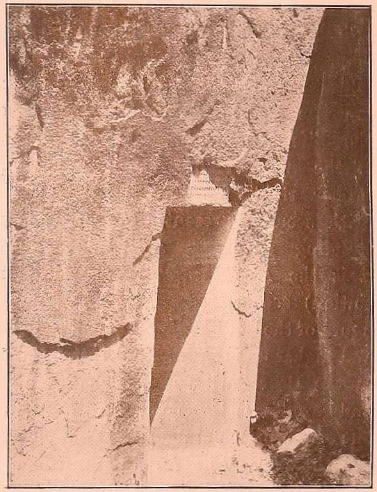

FIG. 26.—Vedathikā cave, Nāgarjunī hill, Barābar.

A peculiar feature of this cave is that its walls are curved and not straight as is the case in all the other caves at Barābar. The total height of the apartment is 7 ft. 8 ins. and the whole interior is highly polished.

(*g*) On the right hand jamb of the doorway is an inscription of 4 lines in ancient Brāhmī characters, in which this cave is called the Vadathika kubha. The remainder of the record is letter for letter the same as those of the Gopī and Vahiyākā caves. General Cunningham thinks that Vadathika probably means secluded, and that the cave has been so named because of its secluded position in the rock.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C. S. R., I, 50-51; L. A. M. B., 320; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 37-43; Fergusson, Indian Architecture, I, 130-133, S. A. B., XII, 58-9; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 203-04; Martin's Eastern India, I, 101-05; J. A. S. B., (1837), 677; I. A., XX, (1891), 361-65; (*k*) 2328.

Ghenjan.

No. 21.—(*a*) Ancient sculptures.

(*b*) In a small shed erected recently on a large mound known as the *Gaṛh* or *Ḍhibṛa* situated immediately to the south-west of Ghenjan, a small village, 6 miles west of Makhdūmpūr on the East Indian Railway (Patna-Gayā Branch); (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Late Mediæval.

(*f*) The shed itself is covered by an arched roof of corrugated sheets supported on iron girders. It is enclosed on all sides by a low iron railing and measures 9 ft. 2 ins. square. The mound on which the shed stands and another to its east apparently mark the sites of a Buddhist stūpa and monastery. Numerous fine sculptures were recovered from these mounds, but they have either

been removed to the local temples, which are of a modern date, or to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The only sculptures now preserved in the shed are a few broken images of Buddha and two pedestals.

1. Image of Buddha in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*) wearing tiara and necklaces. Broken across the chest into two pieces which have been refixed. Right shoulder bare. Left hand and nose and lips damaged. Oval ornamental halo. Pedestal missing. Around the figure are the seven principal scenes of the life of Buddha. Over the head is the *nirvāṇa* or death scene. To proper right, at the bottom, is the birth scene, represented by Queen Māyā standing under a *sāla* tree. Above it is the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* (Renunciation) scene represented simply by a figure of the Bodhisattva in monk's robes, and higher up is shown the First Sermon in the Deer Park with the usual wheel and gazelles on the pedestal. To proper left of the principal figure are the remaining three scenes. At the bottom is depicted the offering of a bowl of honey by the monkey. Above this is seen the Buddha standing with his right hand placed over something not quite distinct. Probably the scene represents the taming of the mad elephant at Rājgīr. Above this the Buddha is shown in the teaching attitude. This conventionally represents the great miracle of Śrāvasti, but there is nothing distinctive to indicate it here.

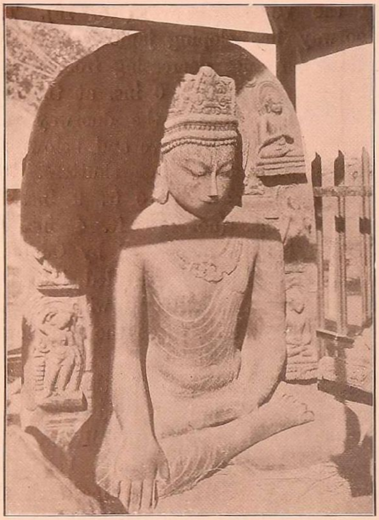

FIG. 27.—Ancient sculptures (Buddha), Ghenjan.

The relief is 5 ft. high and 3 ft. 6 ins. wide. It apparently belongs to the time of the Pāla Kings.

2. Headless Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (ht. 2 ft. 8 ins.). Broken across the chest, but refixed and partially restored in cement. Wears necklaces.

3. Headless Buddha (ht. 2 ft. 2 ins.), seated on a lotus throne supported by lions at the ends, preaching his First Sermon in the Deer Park. Wears necklaces. Attendant to proper right near the shoulder in monkish robes. On the pedestal below the lotus seat is an inscription of one line containing the Buddhist creed. Below it, in the middle, the usual wheel and gazelles.

4. Pedestal and legs of a standing figure of Buddha (ht. 1 ft. 6 ins., width 1 ft. 4 ins.). On either side of the figure is an attendant; the one to proper right carrying vase and *chaurī*, that to left holding what appears to be an umbrella staff.

5. Complete pedestal of an image. Length 3 ft. 7 ins.; height 1 ft. 5 ins.; width 1 ft. 1 in. In front the pedestal is decorated with 7 arched panels, the

end ones containing lions, and figures of seated Buddhas appearing in the rest. The Buddha figures are shown alternately in the earth-touching attitude and holding a bowl in the hands, which are placed in the lap.

Below these panels are two small figures, one of a devotee in the attitude of prayer; the other of Buddha in the *dhyāna-mudrā.*

6. Another pedestal of an image, length 3 ft. 5 ins., height 1 ft. 6 ins., width 1 ft. 5 ins. decorated in the same way as the above, but with figures of lions alternating with elephants in the upper panels and three kneeling devotees in the lower row.

(*g*) On the throne of one of the Buddha figures the Buddhist creed is inscribed. (*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 219; A. S. R., E. C., (1902), 12-13; L. A. M. B., 326; C. S. R., VIII, 63; (*k*) 2483.

Guneri.

No. 22.—(*a*) Ancient sculptures.

(*b*) The sculptures are kept in a small brick shed (measuring 18 ft. by 10 ft. internally) which stands under a large banyan tree, and is locally known as Bhairon-jī-kā-Thān. The village of Guneri is situated some 7 miles from Sherghātī. (*c*) Government; (*d*) II. (*e*) The sculptures belong to the Mediæval period.

(*f*) The sculptures are all of black stone unless otherwise described.

Sculptures along the west wall of the shed.

1. The principal figure (ht. 4 ft. 11 ins.), which is placed against the west wall of the shed, represents the Buddha in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmisparśa-mudrā*) seated on a double lotus throne with a branch of the *pīpal* tree hanging over his head. The image is furnished with an oval halo. The right shoulder is bare; *urṇa* missing; face slightly damaged, and thumb of right hand broken. About the level of the shoulders, on either side, is a figure in the conventional easy posture: that to proper right probably represents the Vajrapāṇi, the other to left possibly the Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva. On the pedestal below the lotus throne is a Nāgarī inscription of two lines containing the name of the donor and also of the village, which is given as Śrī Guṇacharita.

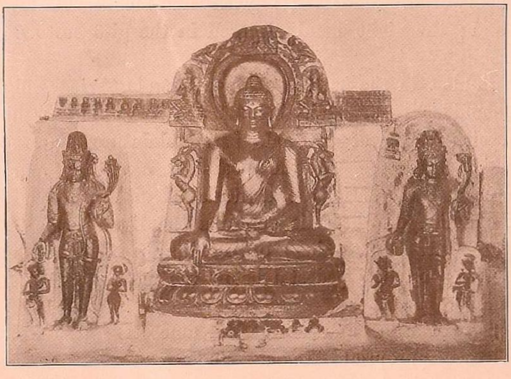

FIG. 28.—Ancient sculptures, Guneri.

2-3. On either side of the principal image is a smaller statue of a Bodhisattva standing in the "gift-bestowing" attitude. The figure to the north or right probably represents Avalokiteśvara, wearing crown and ornaments and holding a half-blossomed lotus flower in its upraised left hand. Near the

head, to proper right, is a stūpa, and on the pedestal stand two attendants, a male to right and a female to left.

The other figure to south or left, is similar to the above but has its hair arranged in a high chignon above the crown and holds three lotus buds in the left hand (Bodhisattva).

4-5. On a ledge against the west wall are placed two carved slabs, one on either side of the principal figure. The one to north is 12 ins. long and $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height, and is decorated with four rows of miniature Buddha figures seated in niches. The other slab, to south of the figure, measures 2 feet in length, and is carved with 7 female figures, all seated cross-legged, as it were in meditation.

Sculptures along the south wall.

6. Damaged figures (ht. 12 ins.) of Śiva and Durgā seated in an easy amorous attitude. Bull below Śiva, and a tiger below the figure of the goddess.

7. Similar complete figures of Śiva and Durgā (ht. 1 ft. 10 ins., width 11 ins.) seated in the 'easy posture'. Right foot of Śiva rests on the back of his bull carved on the pedestal. In one of his right hands Śiva holds a *triśūla;* with the other he is chucking under the chin the goddess, who is seated on his left thigh. One of the left arms of the god encircles the waist of the goddess and reaches to her left breast.

8. Other figures (ht. 1 ft. 7 ins.) of Śiva and Durgā similar to No. 6. Amorous attitude. *Triśūla* in the left hand of Śiva.

9. Figure (ht. 1 ft. 9 ins.) of a goddess (?) with half-blossomed lotus flower in the left upraised hand; the right hand disposed in the gift bestowing attitude. Indifferent workmanship.

10. Image (ht. 3 ft.) of Buddha in the earth-touching attitude. Wears high crown and necklaces. Right shoulder bare. Halo behind the head and branch of the *pīpal* tree above. On either side of the halo is a miniature figure of Buddha seated in the preaching attitude. On the pedestal, are three small niches each containing a figure of Buddha in the attitude of either preaching or meditation. Inscription of one line on the halo contains the Buddhist creed.

11. Damaged headless figure (ht. 1 ft. 4 ins.) of Buddha in the teaching attitude. Inscription of four lines on the pedestal below the figures of attendants contains the Buddhist creed.

12. Figures (ht. 1 ft. 6 ins.) of Śiva and Durgā in amorous attitude as before. *Triśūla* to right of Śiva. Appropriate *vāhanas* under each.

13. Similar to above (ht. 1 ft. 5 ins.).

14. Slab (length 1 ft. 6 ins.) carved with five female figures seated cross-legged. In their right hands they hold lotus flowers; the left hands rest on the knees.

15. Female figure (ht. 1 ft. 5 ins.) seated on a double lotus throne in the 'easy posture'. The right hand is held in the attitude of charity.

16. Standing figure (ht. 1 ft. 6 ins.) of Buddha in the attitude of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). Umbrella over the head.

17. Pedestal and legs (ht. 12 ins., width $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins.) of a figure of Buddha preaching his First Sermon in the Deer Park of Benares. Lotus throne supported by

dwarf at each end. On the pedestal, Buddhist creed, and lower down, wheel flanked by deer, the familiar symbols of the First Sermon. Bluish grey sand stone.

18. Inscribed fragment (5 ins. by 6 ins.) from the pedestal of a Buddha figure.

19. Slab (length 1 ft. 9 ins. ht. 7 ins.) carved with 7 female figures seated in the "easy posture", possibly representing the seven chaste ladies (*satīs*).

20. Slab (length 1 ft. 8 ins. ht. 7½ ins.) carved with 8 female figures, probably representing the eight Mothers, (*ashṭa śaktīs*) seated in the 'easy posture', each on its appropriate vehicle or *vāhana*. The *vāhanas*, beginning from the left are as follows:—Buffalo, goose, ram, demon, goose again, elephant, bull or goat, *preta*.

21. Slab (2 ft. 1 in. by 7 ins.) carved with 7 female figures (*satīs* ?) seated in the 'easy posture'.

22. Fragment (ht. 5½ ins., width 3 ins.) of a sculpture containing the bust of the dying Buddha, with a sorrowing figure on the pedestal.

Sculptures along the east wall.

23. Figure (ht. 1 ft. 4 ins.) of *Mahishāsuramardinī* piercing with *triśūla* the chest of the Buffalo demon, which has assumed the human form.

24. Mutilated figures (ht. 1 ft. 3 ins.) of Śiva and Durgā.

25. Mutilated figure (ht. 1 ft. 1 in.) of a four-armed goddess.

26. Damaged figure (ht. 1 ft. 11 ins.) of a Bodhisattva, standing.

27. Fragment of a sculpture (ht. 8 ins.) containing the bust of a goddess. Stūpa to proper right and lotus to left.

28. Fragment of a sculpture (ht. 8 ins.) with damaged bust of Buddha in the teaching attitude.

Sculptures along the north wall.

29. Fragment (1 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. 1 in.) of a door-jamb or pilaster with a damaged figure of Gaṇeśa in the square panel in front.

30. Figure (ht. 11½ fns.) of Buddha in the earth-touching attitude (*bhūmi-sparśa–mudrā*).

31. Damaged and unfinished bust of a three-headed god (8½ ins. 5½ ins.).

32. Slab (length 1 ft. 9 ins.) carved with five female figures seated cross-legged.

33. Slab (length 1 ft. 5 ins.) carved with six standing male figures in relief. One of the men holds a long spear.

34. Female figure (ht. 11 ins.) seated in the 'easy posture'.

35. Headless figure (ht. 1 ft.) of Buddha in the 'earth-touching attitude'; damaged; fragmentary inscription on the pedestal.

36. Figure (ht. 1 ft. 5 ins.) of Buddha seated in the attitude of teaching, on a double lotus throne. Branch of the *bodhī* tree above. Inscription on the lotus petals contains Buddhist creed.

37. Damaged figure (ht. 2 ft. 5 ins.) of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa–mudrā*. Branches of *pīpal* tree over the head flanked by flying *gandharvas* in clouds. Soft sandstone of a bluish grey colour.

38. Figure (ht. 1 ft. 6 ins.) of Buddha seated on a double lotus throne in the 'earth-touching attitude'. Right shoulder bare. Halo behind the head. On the pedestal and the lotus petals above is an inscription of 7 lines reading:—

(1) *Ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣāṁ ta-*
(2) *-thāgato hy-avadat teṣāṁ cha yo nirodha evaṁvā-*
(3) *-dī mahāśramaṇaḥ Saṁvat 9 Vaiśākha.*
(4) *śudī 5 Śrī-Guṇa-*
(5) *-carita Śrī-Mahendrapā-*
(6) *-ladevarājye devadha-*
(7) *-rmmeyaṁ*..............

Translation.

The first two and half lines of the inscription are the well-known Mahāyāna Buddhist creed; the rest can be translated thus; 'In the year 9 on the 5th of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, this pious offering (was made) at the illustrious Guṇacharita in the reign of the king Mahendrapāla.'

39. Figure (ht. 1 ft. 7 ins.) of four-armed Gaṇeśa with large outspread ears, eating cakes with his trunk.

40. Figure (ht. 2 ft. 4 ins.) of Buddha in the 'earth-touching attitude'.

41. Mahishāsuramardinī, killing the buffalo demon (ht. 9 ins.).

42. Figure of Buddha similar to No. 40 (ht. 1 ft.).

43. Buddha similar to above (ht. 11 ins.).

44. Figure (ht. 11 in.) representing the Buddha in the Deer Park delivering his First Sermon after the Enlightenment. Wheel and Deer on the pedestal.

45. Broken image of Buddha (ht. 1 ft.) in the 'earth-touching attitude'.

46. Five fragments (varying in height from 3 ins. to 6 ins.) of Buddha figures all in the 'earth-touching attitude.'

47. Head (ht. 3 ins.) of a female figure.

48. Two broken figures of Vishṇu (ht. 6½ ins. and 7½ ins.) with *gadā* and *chakra*.

49. Two umbrellas of small votive stūpas (ht. 6 ins. and 8 ins.).

50. Fifteen fragments of figures and architectural stones, variously carved.

(*g*) Several of the images in the shed bear inscriptions, which have already been described above. (*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 336; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 231; J. A. S. B. (1847), 278; C. S. R., VIII, 63; M. A. S. B. (1915), 64'; (*k*) 2192 to 2200.

Hasrā Kol.

No. 23.—(*a*) The ancient mounds.

(*b*) In the Kol or valley between the Hasrā and Sobnāth hills, some 4 miles south-west of Wazīrganj, a small town and Railway station 16 miles east of Gaya; (*c*) The Tikārī Rāj has given the tract in Mokarrarī to one Mr. Keith; (*d*) III; (*e*) To judge from the style of the images unearthed from these mounds and now preserved in the local shrines at Wazīrganj, the mounds appear to belong to the Late Mediæval period.

(*f*) Hasrā is the name given to a low rocky ridge about 200 feet high at the northern extremity of a higher range of hills rising abruptly from the level plain. Between this ridge and the hill to its south, known as the Sobnāth hill, is a small defile about a quarter of a mile long and not more than 400 yards in width. This is the Hasrā Kol or Hasrā valley. The whole of this little valley is strewn with brickbats, and several ruined mounds composed of earth and bricks marking sites of ancient stūpas and monasteries still exist.

FIG. 29.—Ancient mound, Hasrā Kol.

1. One of these mounds near the western extremity of the valley is 8 to 10 feet high and nearly 75 feet in diameter. It probably represents the ruins of a brick stūpa. A few broken pillars of grey granite are lying on it and probably belonged to a porch in front of the stūpa. The pillars are square below and octagonal above. A cross trench has recently been dug through the middle of the mound and the bricks obtained from it have been used in the construction of a well about 300 yards to south. A stone slab carved with 4 rows of miniature Buddha figures is built into the well and is said to have also been unearthed from this mound. No complete bricks are to be seen but the local people state that the bricks measured about 12 to 14 inches long and 9 to 10 inches wide.

2. A little to south-east of this is a large low mound about 150 feet long, 50 feet wide and 3 to 5 feet high. This apparently marks the site of a monastery.

3. Some 300 yards to north-east of the first mound and close to the south face of the Hasrā ridge is a large mound measuring 92 feet by 75 feet and about 20 feet high. This is also composed of red earth and brickbats and probably marks the site of a stūpa. It appears to have been dug into.

4. About 100 yards south-east of this is a low mound about 8 feet high and 50 feet in diameter at the base. Beyond it on the east is a large low hillock which was probably used as a quarry in ancient days; and further east near the junction of the two hills, Mr. Beglar records having seen the ruins of two massive walls, of which however there are no traces now.

Numerous sculptures were found in the course of excavation for bricks carried on by the neighbouring villagers. Some of these are preserved in the rustic shrines of the vicinity, particularly at Bishanpūr; while others have found their way to Patna or Calcutta.

Important images among them are :—

(1) A basalt statue of Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* with Avalokiteśvara and (?) Maitreya as attendants.

(2) A seated Buddha figure bearing an inscription "*Ye dharma Rasi mahā Kasyapa*", from which it appears that the image probably represents the great Kāśyapa himself.

(3) A statue of Buddha inscribed with the usual creed.

(4) An inscribed figure of Akshobhya.

In the fields to west of the Hasrā valley, a few inches below the surface of the soil, are said to be buried the remains of ancient brick walls, platforms, etc. No coins are said to have been found. The mounds, etc., at Hasrā Kol are ascribed to Sobnāth, a Rajpūt Rājā after whom the neighbouring hill is named.

(*g*) None on surface. (*h*) Fair. The mounds are still being used as brick quarries by the villagers. (*j*) I. A., XXX (1916), 90 ; C. S. R., VIII, 104-06 ; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 220-221 ; L. A. M. B., 298 ; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 14 ; (*k*) 2329-34.

Sobnāth Hill.

No. 24.—(*a*) The ancient mound.

(*b*) On the top of the Sobnāth hill south of Hasrā Kol (see No. 23) ; (*c*) The Tikāri Rāj has given the tract in Mokarrarī to one Mr. Keith ; (*d*) III. ; (*e*) Uncertain ; but probably very early.

(*f*) The hill to south of the Hasrā Kol is locally known as the Sobnāth Hill. It is surmounted by three rugged peaks all rising from one and the same eminence. On the central one of these peaks is a large platform of dry stone masonry 75 feet square and about 10 feet high, and on the top of this platform are traces of a round stūpa. To south of the Sobnāth Hill is another hill locally known as the Bhalwatrā. The three hills—Hasrā, Sobnāth and Bhalwatrā radiate westwards, as it were, from one central point on the east, and leave plain level spaces of four to five hundred yards wide between their western extremities. In plan these hills resemble a cock's foot, and on the basis of this resemblance and the existence of extensive remains at the foot of the mountain, Sir Aurel Stein has suggested its identity with the ancient Kukkuṭapādgiri, on the top of which, according to Yuan Chwang, Kaśyapa, the chief disciple of Buddha, is said to have made himself invisible to the human eye to await the arrival of the coming Buddha Maitreya.

"Starting from the immediate vicinity of Bodh Gaya, to the east of the Manu river (the present Mohana Nadī) we enter a great wild forest, and going 100 li or so we come to the Kukkuṭapādagiri or Gurupādagiri. The sides of this mountain are high and rugged, the valleys and gorges are impenetrable. Tumultous torrents rush down its sides, thick forest envelops the valleys, whilst tangled shrubs grow along its cavernous heights. Soaring upwards into the air are three sharp peaks ; their tops are surrounded by the vapours of heaven and their shape lost in the clouds. Behind these hills the venerable

Mahā-Kāśyapa dwells, wrapped in a condition of *Nirvāṇa.* People do not dare to utter his name, and therefore they speak of the Gurupāda. When the master was on the point of attaining *Nirvāṇa,* Kāśyapa received from him the commission to preserve the Law, and for that purpose he called the great Convocation after Buddha's death in the Sattapannī cave near Rājgīr and then, in disgust at the impermanence of the world, and desiring to die, he went towards the Cock's foot mountain. Ascending the north side of the mountain he proceeded along the winding path, and came to the south-west ridge. Here the crags and precipices prevented him from going on. Forcing his way through the tangled brushwood, he struck the rock with his staff and thus opened a way. He then passed on, having divided the rock, and ascended till he was again stopped by the rocks interlacing each other. He again opened a passage through and came out on the mountain peak on the north-east side. Then having emerged from the defiles, he proceeded to the middle point of three peaks. There he took the Kāśyapa garment of Buddha and expressed an ardent vow. On this the three peaks covered him over; this is the reason why these three peaks now rise up into the air. On the coming of the Maitreya Kāśyapa will issue forth from the mountain, and delivering to him the garment of Buddha, enter Nirvāna. Now, therefore, on the top of the mountain is a stūpa built. On quiet evenings the people there looking from a distance see sometimes a bright light as it were of a torch; but if they ascend the mountain there is nothing to be observed.[1]"

Now the central of the three spurs is surmounted, as mentioned before, by a square parapet, 9 to 10 feet high, built of rough masonry, and the platform or terrace thus formed measures 75 feet on each side. On its top Sir Aurel Stein discovered a mound 10 feet high and about 20 feet in diameter, which appears to represent the remains of the same stūpa which Yuan Chwang mentions as existing on the top of the 'Cock's-foot-mountain.' One of the bricks exposed measured 10 ins. by 9 ins. by 2 ins. The centre of the mound has been dug into for a depth of 4 to 5 feet, and in the cavity thus formed, which is about 10 feet wide, lie five large granite pillars 9 inches square, half buried by debris. The hill, as well as the mound at its top, is locally known as Sobnāth, and the tradition attached to the place is that Sobnāth was a Rājā of Ancient India, and that the hill known after his name is nothing but a mass of debris under which are buried the remains of the Rājā's Palace or Qila. The pit sunk into the mound was made some 40 years ago.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good, but partly overgrown with jungle. (*j*) Beal (Si-yu-ki) II., 142; A. G. I., 460; C. S. R., XV, 5; I. A., XXV (March, 1901), 8 ff.; A. S. R., E. C., (1902) 14; Dist. Gazet., Gaya, 221-22; S. A. B., XII, 19. (*k*) 2335, 2336, 2337.

Shamshernagar.

No. 25.—(*a*) Tomb of Shamsher Khān.

(*b*) In a large enclosure south of the Dehri-Khagol Canal bridge; (*c*) The tomb is in joint possession of all the landlords of the village, and the surrounding plot of land which originally

[1] Gazetteer, Gaya District, pp. 221-222, quoting from Yuan Chwang.

formed the garden of the tomb belongs to (1) Baijnāth Prasād Singh, of village Bandhwa, Thāna Arval, District Gaya. (2) Sardār Ranjīt Singh, of Jullundhar (Punjab) and (3) Deoki Lāl, Deo Nārāin Singh and others, of Shamshernagar; (*d*) II **c**; (*e*) Shamsher Khān died in 1124 A.H. (=1712 A.D.). The tomb is said to have been erected during his lifetime.

(*f*) The tomb stands on a large brick platform 91 ft. 6 ins. square and 4 ft. 6 ins. high, in the centre of a spacious quadrangle enclosed by a ruinous wall with a

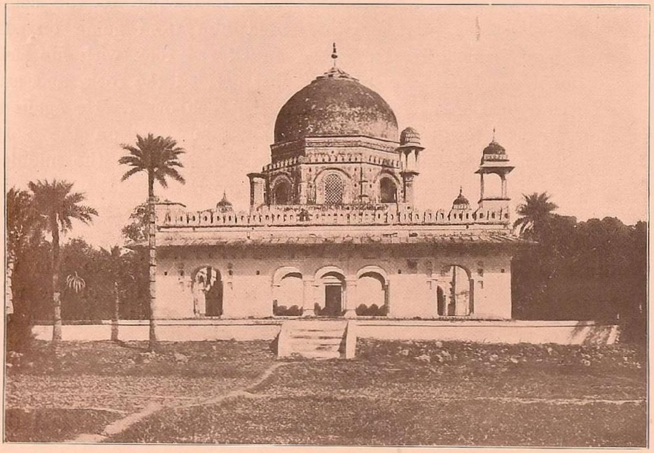

FIG. 30.—Shamsher Khān's tomb, Shamshernagar.

plain doorway in the middle of the west side. At the four corners of the terrace are octagonal towers about 8 feet in diameter, now ruined and standing scarcely a foot higher than the top of the terrace, which is approached by a stair of 4 stone steps on the south side. Including the roofless verandah around it, the tomb measures 57 ft. 4 ins. square. The verandah is 9 ft. 6 ins. wide (internally) and its outer wall, which is 4 feet thick, is relieved with 5 semicircular arches in each side, three of which in the centre are supported on double stone pillars with square bases. The exterior wall is surmounted by a battlemented parapet, a little below which is a deep *chhajja* resting on a series of massive brackets; while at each corner of the verandah rises a small cupola carried on slender pillars. The verandah was roofed originally by a brick vault, but this was destroyed by lightning together with the eastern wall of the verandah and one of its cupolas; while two further cupolas of the tomb proper were also destroyed in the same way. This latter is a square of 30 ft. 2 ins. externally with a hexagonal minaret at each corner. At the top of each of these minarets is a small cupola resting on 6 graceful pillars. Like the other cupolas of the tomb, these are decorated on the outside with lotus petals. In the middle of each side of the tomb is an arched entrance 6 ft. 2 ins. high and 3 ft. 9 ins. wide and above each arch is a small window. The main en-

trance, however, was in the southern arch, where the stone frame of the door is still intact. Above the parapets of the lower square storey of the tomb at a height of about 20 feet from the ground, the walls assume an octagonal shape, above which occurs a smaller octagon supporting a hemispherical dome surmounted by a *kalaśa,* the lower vase of which is broken. The lower octagon is relieved with a minaret at each angle, and a window with stone *jālī* in the middle of each side. Internally the tomb is a square of 19 ft. 6 ins. reduced to an octagon by small arches at the angles, the dome resting on the octagon itself. The dome is not built solid, there being a hollow space (approached by a flight of steps in the thickness of the wall) between an inner and outer shell.

The grave of Nawwāb Shamsher Khān occupies the central position under the dome and is distinguished by a raised *Qalamdān* on the top, and a small masonry lamp-stand resembling a Buddhist votive stūpa towards the head. To left or east of Shamsher Khān's grave is another containing the relics of his wife.

Immediately to north-west of the tomb there were, it is said, a *bāolī* and a *sarāi* where travellers could rest and partake of food supplied free of cost by Shamsher Khān and his descendants. The *bāolī* was destroyed at the time the Khagol canal was excavated.

Ibrāhīm Khān, afterwards known as Shamsher Khān, was a son of Khān Khānān by his second wife. Orphaned at an early age, he was brought up by his uncle Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī, the famous Governor of Bihār who subdued the Rājā of Palāmau in 1663 A.D. After the death of Nawwāb Dā'ūd Khān, Ibrāhīm was appointed *Faujdār* of Mānikpūr, and was soon promoted to the *Faujdār*-ship of Sarkār Shāhābād, a position which he is said to have held for 30 years. When Raḥīm Khān Afghān rebelled and defeated Khwāja Muḥammad Anwar, Prince 'Azīm-ush-shān was sent against Raḥīm Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān was ordered to help the Prince. Here Ibrāhīm Khān won his laurels, and in a pitched battle with Raḥīm Khān killed the latter with an arrow shot in the forehead. As a reward for this service he was given the title of Shamsher Khān, besides other gifts in cash and kind. Later on Shamsher Khān served for short periods as Sūbadār of 'Azīmābād (Patna), Oudh, and Gorakhpur. In the war of succession which followed the death of Aurangzīb, Shamsher Khān sided with prince Rafī'-ush-shān, and was killed, together with his son 'Āqil Khān, by a cannon ball. The date of his death is given in the chronogram

جما شهادت نوشيد

"*he drank the cup of martyrdom*". This is equivalent to 1124 A.H. or 1712 A.D. The information about Shamsher Khān was obtained from a manuscript in the possession of the descendants of Nawwāb Dā'ūd Khān living in a very humble way at Dā'ūdnagar.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 332. (*k*) 2201-04.

PATNA DISTRICT.

Bihār.

No. 26.—(*a*) The fort of Bihār, known as the Qil'a.

(*b*) To south-east of the Sub-Divisional Officer's Court; (*c*) Musammāt Booṇd Bāī of Mauza' Nawāda, Pargana Samal (Gaya) and 39 others, of different villages; (*d*) III; (*e*) The remains date from 5th century to about the 16th century A.D.

(*f*) Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in his "Eastern India" mentions a tradition according to which the fort was built during the supremacy of the Andhra kings who ruled over the Gangetic Provinces. The tradition of the Jaina founder Padmodaya and that of the Maga Rājā have been dismissed by him as purely mythical. Tārānāth makes mention of the place twice under the name of Otantapura or Udandapura Deśa, first in the account of the reign of Gopāla (the founder of the Pāla dynasty) who, it is said, built a temple at Nālandā near Otantapura in 815 A.D., and again in referring to the final conquest of the country by I<u>kh</u>tiyār-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ba<u>kh</u>tyār <u>Kh</u>aljī in 1197 A.D. when he states that the Buddhist monasteries at Otantapura were destroyed.

Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty is also said to have built at Udandapura a great and magnificent monastery or *vihāra* which seems to be the origin of the modern name of the town. In early Muhammadan histories of India, the place is called Ūdand Bihār, but in the later chronicles the first part of the name is invariably omitted.

After Ikhtiyār's conquest in 1197 A.D. Bihār became the seat of the Muhammadan Governors of the province until, in A.D. 1541, <u>Sh</u>er <u>Sh</u>āh Sūrī transferred the capital to Patna, "which was then a small town dependent on Bihār". Bihār was sacked by the Marathas in the time of 'Alī Vardī <u>Kh</u>ān; and in 1757 was visited by Mīr Ja'far <u>Kh</u>ān, who spent several days at the place visiting the tombs of the local saints. Later, the Emperor <u>Sh</u>āh 'Alam made Bihār his head-quarters for a short time during his invasion of Bengal from which it may be inferred that the fort was in a state of good preservation up to the end of the 18th century A.D.

The fort stands on a natural plateau rising above the level of the surrounding plains, and less than a century ago Dr. Buchanan Hamilton described it as being of irregular shape and defended by strong ramparts of stone, quarried from the adjacent hill. The foundations of the city wall were then everywhere entire, and each salient angle was strengthened by a round bastion. The great moat in front of the fort, which varied from 400 to 600 ft. in width was even then under cultivation, and cut through by winding canals at several places. There were large heaps of bricks in the fort, but the buildings to which these belonged had already been destroyed beyond recognition. Of the gates, the one to the north was defended by two towers. Inside the ruins of the old fort another mud fort was constructed, which served as the quarters of the Rājpūt guard of the Mughal Collector sent to manage the revenues of the surrounding country. About a hundred years before his visit, says Dr.

Buchanan Hamilton, the descendants of the guard had planted a couple of trees, under which they built two small temples of Śiva, placing around them sculptures which they found scattered over the fort area.

According to General Cunningham, the fort area covers 312 acres, and measures 2,800 feet from north to south and 2,100 feet east to west. The walls of the fort, which were of cyclopean proportions, measured 18 to 20 feet thick and 25 to 30 feet high, and were constructed of very large blocks of stone. These walls and ramparts have now entirely disappeared. Even the mud or brick fort of Muhammadan times is no longer extant, and with the exception of one or two Muhammadan shrines there is hardly a building of any antiquity left in the fort. Scattered here and there over the fort area are numerous mounds which the villagers have been exploiting for their bricks and brick-dust, these operations having exposed the foundations of ancient buildings at a depth of 15 to 25 feet. Numerous Buddhist carvings of the later mediaeval period were obtained during these diggings, comprising chiefly broken Buddha or Bodhisattva figures, votive stūpas, pillars, door jambs and other architectural features relieved with figures of Buddha in various attitudes, etc., etc. A number of the better preserved sculptures have already found their way to Calcutta. Others of lesser importance are preserved by the local Hindūs either in their own houses or near the modern temples or old wells, of which there is a large number on the fort. Notable among the sculptures now preserved at the old wells are the following:—

FIG. 31.—Remains of the fort wall, Bihār.

(*a*) At Prem Sahāi Kuāñ (where traces of the fort wall still exist), a very small standing figure of Devī holding aloft a sword in her right hand.

(*b*) At Mātā Thān, south of the larger Vaishnavite temple, a collection of broken and entire sculptures containing several figures of Buddha, a damaged Gaṇeśa, and a fragment of a Bodhisattva figure with a female *chaurī*-bearer.

(*c*) At Bābājī Kuāñ, a pedestal with legs of Vajra Vārāhī; carved fragments with Buddha figures in niches, and a small inscribed fragment of a Śiva image with a bull on the pedestal.

All these detached images are of black stone.

About the centre of the fort stands the tomb of Qumaiṣ Qādirī[1]. The grave of the saint is placed on a raised platform in the middle of a brick enclosure which is not more than 40 years old, though the bricks used in its construction have apparently been dug out of the mounds scattered about the fort. A few fragmentary images and some umbrellas and votive stūpas are lying in the outer compound of the tomb, of which the pavement is said to have once been studded with numerous Buddhist sculptures. These sculptures were bought by local *banyās* who in turn have disposed of them to dealers in antiques in Calcutta and other places. One head-less Buddha and a six-armed female figure are still lying here; and on the pedestal of the Buddha figure is an inscription containing probably the Buddhist creed.

At present the fort area is entirely occupied by Civil and Municipal buildings and by a portion of the town of Bihār itself. The old buildings have all disappeared, and the traces of the old fort wall, which are to be found in one or two places only, are rapidly disappearing.

(*g*) *i-ii.* Two important Sanskrit inscriptions are recorded on a sandstone pillar 14 feet high which was removed from the fort by Mr. Broadley (a former Sub-Divisional Officer) and placed upside down on a brick platform near his own residence, whence it has lately been removed to the Patna Museum. The upper and earlier record on the pillar consists of 13 lines and belongs to the reign of Kumāra Gupta (A.D. 413-455); the lower to his son and successor Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-480).

(*i*) The upper inscription which is badly damaged, opens with an eulogy of Kumāra Gupta (or his father-in-law?) who is called "a very moon of a man, equal in prowess to the God Vishṇu, the younger brother of Indra, unequalled in respect of virtuous qualities". Kumāra Gupta is then mentioned as having erected this pillar, referred to as "the best of columns" and "a sacrificial post" in the inscription, and as having constructed a group of temples in a grove of fig trees and castor oil plants. The latter portion of the epigraph probably recorded a gift or endowment, but it is too badly damaged to be readable.

(*ii*) The lower inscription consists of 18 lines and is somewhat better preserved. A free tanslation of it is given below:—

"The Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta—who was the exterminator of all kings; who had no equal in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; who was equal to the gods Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who was the very axe of the god Kritānta; who was the giver of many millions of cows and gold, and who was the "restorer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice that had long been in abeyance—was the son of the Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta I, by the Lichhavi's daughter Queen Mahādevī Kumāra Devī, and grandson of the illustrious Mahārājā Ghaṭotkacha, and great grandson of the Mahārājā the illustrious Gupta; and Samudra-

[1] The name of the saint was Qumaiṣ and he is said to be a descendant of the great saint of Baghdād Sayyid 'Abdul Qādir Jilānī. The attendants of the tomb say that the saint was the contemporary of Makhdūm Sharf-ud-dīn, the patron saint of Bihār (13th century A.D.).

gupta's son was the Mahārājādhirāja the glorious Chandragupta II by Queen Mahādevī Dattadevī. His son by Mahādevī Dhrūvadevī was the Mahārājādhirāja the glorious Kumāragupta, whose son is the Mahārājādhirāja the glorious Skandagupta." The last 8 lines are too badly damaged to be clearly read and translated, but it is apparent that they record perpetual religious endowments made by the Rājā.

(*iii*) Over the entrance of the mosque attached to the dargāh of Qumaiṣ Qādirī is fixed an inscribed slab containing the Kalima in the central section and four Persian verses engraved in Naskh characters, two on either side of the Kalima. The inscription is badly damaged. I have read it as follows:—

To right.

(۱) این بنا در عهد شاه اسلام عادل شهر یار   گرد حجره سید یحیی [مقطع شهر بهار ؟]

(۲) التماس از زائرآن دارم به یمن روح پاک   فاتحه بر روضه [؟] من [هم] بخواند خضر وار

To left.

(۳) التجا در . . . خاکسار . . . محشر را شفیع . . . . .

(۴) شد تمام این گنبد موزون بدرگاهش [کنون ؟]   نهصد و پنجاه و پنج [آمد ؟] بتاریخ شمار

The readings are doubtful, but it is clear that the inscription records the erection of a domed building in the dargāh of a saint at Bihār during the reign of Islām Shāh Sūrī. The date given in the inscription is 955 A.H.=1548 A.D.

(*h*) In ruins; (*j*) Martin's East India, I, 89-93; Dist. Gazet., Patna, 189-193; A. S. R. E. C. (1902), 18-19; L. A. M. B., 257-258; C. S. R., I, 36-38 and plate XVII, XI, 185-93; Oxford History of India, 221; C. I. I., III, 49-52; E. I. M. (1923-24), 28-29, (*k*) 491-92, 1903-1904, 1905, 1906 and 2354.

No. 27.—(*a*) Tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayā or Bayyū;

(*b*) On the top of Pīr Pahāṛī, or Baṛī Pahāṛī, an isolated hill situated about two miles to the north-west of the town of Bihār; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) Middle of the 14th century A.D.

(*f*) The tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū or Bayā stands in the middle of a court measuring 184 feet north to south and 159 feet east to west, bounded by a low brick wall 2 ft. 9 ins. thick. Around the tomb is a berm or low platform 11 ft. 4 ins. wide and about a foot high. The tomb proper measures 48 feet square externally. The walls, which are 8 ft. 3 ins. thick at the base, taper upward and are surmounted by a bold cornice composed of five courses of carved bricks in stepped projection, the decoration consisting of rosettes and lotus leaves between two dentil courses. The dome is curiously elongated, somewhat like the dome of ancient Buddhist stūpas, and is perhaps one of the earliest examples of Muhammadan domes in this part of the country. Access to the interior of the tomb is gained through two small arched doorways on the south and east, both of which are now provided with iron gates fitted with wire-netting to exclude birds. The principal grave stands in the centre, and there are 10 others around it of the descendants of the Malik. On the head-stone of the principal grave are a number of rag-ribbons tied there in token of their vows and prayers by persons desirous of children, etc. Internally, the tomb is 31 ft. 6 ins. square up to a height of about

$5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, above which the square is changed into an octagon by means of three concentric arches in each corner. The angles of the octagon are, in

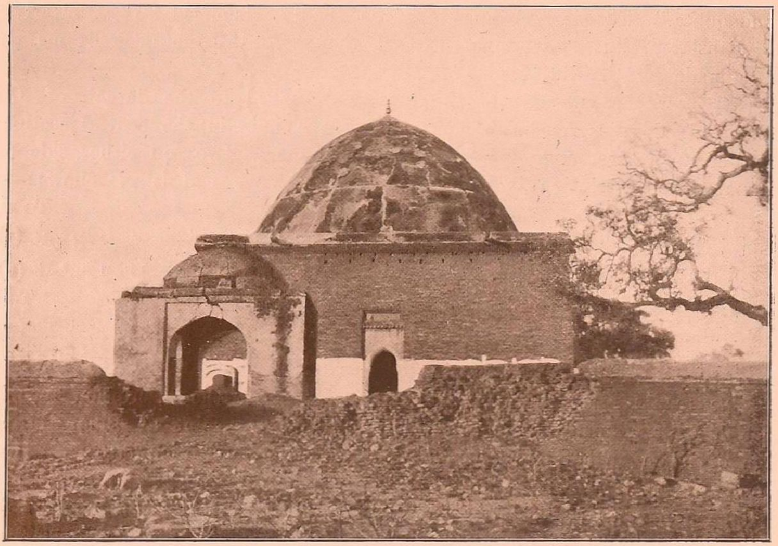

FIG. 32.—Tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm Bayyū, Bihār.

turn, filled in with small corbels to form the circle on which the dome is reared. The springing of the dome is marked by mouldings surmounted by a row of shallow niches. In the south and east sides are doors; and an arched recess occurs in the northern and western walls, the recess to the north being pierced by some 20 small square holes right through the thickness of the wall, a feature which takes the place of the stone *jālīs* so frequently met with in later Muhammadan tombs. Each alternate side of the octagon is relieved with a small boss over the arches, and above the bosses are iron rings fixed in the masonry, probably for the ropes of a canopy.

The tomb is said to have been built by Sayyid Dā'ūd, the eldest of the seven sons of the saint, who lies buried to the west of his father's grave. The bricks of which the tomb is built are of different sizes, varying from $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. by 2 ins. to 14 ins. by 10 ins. by $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. In colour and texture they resemble the bricks used in the monasteries of Nālandā (No. 30) and may indeed have been obtained from the remains of the many Buddhist vihāras which the place appears to have contained before the Muhammadan conquest. These bricks have been finely dressed and rubbed to a smooth surface. The tomb closely resembles the dargāh of Juman Madārī at Hilsa but the Hilsa tomb is later in date.

To south of the Malik's tomb, within the enclosure, is a small dome on four arches built over the grave of one Maulānā Mubārak, of Patna. At each corner of the enclosure, as also over the entrance thereof, was a small dome, a part of the one at the north-east corner being still extant. About 100 yards to north-east of the Malik's tomb is an arched doorway which once gave access to a mosque. Over the doorway is an inscribed slab giving the date of the construction of the mosque as 973 A.H.=1565 A.D. Wilful damage has been done in modern times to this inscription.

Col. E. T. Dalton mentions Ibrāhīm Bayyū in his 'Ethnology of Bengal' (p. 211), and says that Jangra, a Santāl Rājah, destroyed himself and his family in the Fort of Chai Champa, Hazaribagh District, when he heard of Malik Bayyū's approach.

"According to traditions still preserved among the 'Mujāwirs' or custodians of the shrine, Ibrāhīm Malik Bayyū was an inhabitant of Butnagar and was sent by Muḥammad-i-Tughlaq to chastise Hāñs Kumār, Rājā of Rohtāsgaṛh. The Rājah frequently came to Baṛgāon, the great Buddhist monastery, to worship. He oppressed the poor Muhammadans of the country. Now it happened that an old woman, a Sayyidah, killed a cow, in order to celebrate the nuptials of her grandson, when a kite snatched up one of the bones, and let it fall near the place where the Rājah worshipped. The Rājah was, of course, enraged, and put the Muhammadan bridegroom to death. On the advice of her friends, the old woman complained to Muḥammad-i-Tughlaq. Being uncertain as to whom he should entrust with the command of an expedition against Hāñs Kumār, he consulted the astrologers. They told him, 'This very night a storm will occur in the city, of such violence that all the lights will be extinguished. In whose house a lamp may be found burning, he is the man best fitted for the undertaking'. Ibrāhīm Malik Bayyū was found reading the Qurān by lamp-light, and next morning he was appointed to command the expedition. He at once advanced to Bihar, and surprised Rājah Hāñs Kumār at the Sūraj Pokhar, Baṛgāon. Although the Rājah escaped to Rohtāsgaṛh, the number of the slain was so great that Malik Bayyū returned with fifty seers weight of sacred threads. He now occupied himself in subduing the warlike tribes of the province, and unfortunately fell at the moment of victory, his enemy Rājah Hāñs Kumār having been killed in the same battle. Malik Bayyū's body was brought to Bihār; and the Rājah's head and the sacred thread were buried at the foot of the hill, which still bears the name of Maṇḍ-mālā." [J. A. S. B., XLII (1873), pt. I 300.]

All this, however, appears to be mere legend.

According to the inscriptions on Malik Bayyū's shrine, he died, apparently peacefully, on the 13th Zil-Ḥijjah, 753, A.H. or 20th January, 1353, A.D. in the second year of Fīroz Tughlaq's reign and about a year before his invasion of Bengal.

The hill on which the tomb of Malik Bayyū is situated is "composed of cuboidal masses of crystallized sandstone having a fanciful resemblance to horn, thence called by the learned, 'Hornstone'". [J. A. S. B., (1837), p. 352.]

Standing alone, as it does, in the midst of the fields and palm groves of Bihār, this hill seems to be the same 'solitary hill' or Indra's Rock[1] as that which Fa Hian mentioned to have seen at a distance of 9 Yojanas to the south-east of Patna (while he was on his way to Rājgīr). The distance given by Fa Hian is approximately accurate. Nine Yojanas are equal to about 41 English miles and the distance between Patna and Bihār is 38 miles *viâ* Fatūḥa and 41 miles *viâ* Bakhtiarpur according to Cunningham's calculation.

(*g*) *i.* Over the eastern entrance to the tomb is a Persian inscription in two lines, each line containing 3 verses written in Nas<u>kh</u> characters:—

این مقطع بهار ملک سیف دولتست	کز سهم تیغ او سپر افگندے آفتاب
بت را همی شکست چو همنام خویش تا	در عالم بقاش شود بت شکن خطاب
صفدار صف شکن چو صف آراستے بحرب	رستم به تپ فتادے و بهمن شدے ز تاب
خرشید اگرچه لشکر سیاره را شکست	آخر ز کره ساخت سرا پردهٔ حجاب
تاریخ آفتاب که یکشنبه از جهان	چون لعل رفت در دل سنگ از برائے خواب
بود از مه معظم ذی الحجه سیزده	وز سال بعد هفتصد و پنجه و سه در حساب

Translation.

1. This is the Jāgīrdār of Bihār the Malik, the Sword of the Kingdom (Saif-i-Daulat); from the dread of whose sword the Sun would throw down its shield.

2. Like his name-sake (Abraham the Patriarch), he broke idols, so that in the future world, he may have the title of 'Iconoclast'.

3. The warrior, who broke the ranks (of the enemies); when he arrayed his ranks Rustam fell into feverish restlessness and Bahman lost his firmness.[2]

4. Although the Sun defeated the army of the planets, at last he made for himself a screen of the mountains.[3]

5. The date of the disappearance of this luminary—who like a ruby in stone went away from the world to sleep.

6. was—the 13th of the exalted month of Zil ḥijja and the year was 753 of the era.

(*ii*) Over the southern doorway of the tomb is another Persian inscription of two lines, each line containing 3 verses written in Nas<u>kh</u> characters. It reads as follows :—

درین گنبذ که هست از روئے معنی	بقدر از گنبد افلاك برتر
بخفتست شیر مردے کز نهیبش	نهفتے شیر اندر بطن شبّر
مدار ملک ابراهیم بوبکر	که تیغ از بهر حق می‌زد چو حیدر
چنین لشکر کشے کشور کشائے	نخیزد دوم اندر هفت کشور
کنون چون بر درت افتاد یارب	ز راه لطف بکشائی برو در
بمشک رحمت و کافور رافت	کنی دیوار خاکش را معطر

---

[1] This hill is different from that which contained the Indra-śaila cave.

[2] or "and (Rustam) perspired like a rain-pouring cloud".

[3] The light of the Sun is so strong that the planets are not visible; but the sun sets and loses himself behind the mountains. So also Malik Ibrāhim Bayyū, who is likened to the Sun and whose tomb stands on the hill. The word خرشید is written without a wā (و) in the epigraph.

Translation.

1. Under this dome, which, in a spiritual sense, has a higher position than the dome of heaven.

2. Sleeps a lion, from whose dread tigers hid themselves in the bellies of bats. (?)

3. The pivot of the realm, Ibarāhīm-ī-Bū Bakr (=Ibrāhīm (?son of) Abū Bakr), who wielded his sword for truth like Ḥaidar (*i.e.*, 'Alī, the 4th Caliph).

4. Such a leader of armies, such a conqueror of realms, will not be born a second time in the seven climes.

5. Now, O God! as he has fallen down at Thy door, open in mercy Thy door to him!

6. (and) with the musk of Thy Mercy and the camphor of Thy Compassion, perfume the walls of his grave.

This inscription is not cut deep and the chisel marks look quite fresh!

(*iii*) There was a third inscription on the tomb. It was first published by Ravenshaw in the J. A. S. B. for 1839 and again by Beale, Horn and Blochmann. This is the only inscription which mentions the Malik's name as Ibrāhīm *Bayyū*. The inscription is said to be in the Indian Museum now.

(*h*) Good; (*j*) C. S. R., I, 37 and III, 146; Dist. Gazet., Patna, 192; L. A. M. B., 256; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 18-19; J. A. S. B. (1839), 352-3; XLII, (1873), pt. I, 300-02; Beale, Miftāḥ, 90; Dalton, Ethnology of Bengal, 211; E. I., II, 292. (*k*) 493, 2353.

Maner.

No. 28.—(*a*) Tombs of Makhdūm Shāh Daulat and Ibrāhīm Khān at Maner better known as the Chhotī Dargāh.

(*b*) Opposite the Dāk Bungalow at Maner, 19 miles south-west of Patna and 6 miles north of Bihṭa, a small station on the East Indian Railway; (*c*) Sayyid Shāh Fazl-i-Ḥusain Sāḥīb Sajjāda Nashīn, a descendant of the saint; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) The massive gateway to north, which forms the main entrance into the compound, was constructed in 1002 A.H. =1593 A.D. The saint died in 1017 A. H.=1608 A.D. and his mausoleum was finished in 1025 A.H.=1616 A.D.; while the mosque and the gallery to west were completed in 1028 A.H.=1619 A.D.

(*f*) The tomb of Makhdūm Shāh Daulat is situated immediately to the north of the tank at Maner and occupies the centre of a large brick enclosure measuring 257 ft. by 252 ft. and about 10 feet high. At each of the four corners of the enclosure is a twelve-sided tower, two of which, on the west, are still standing to their original height. The southern wall of the enclosure has been further strengthened by two extra towers of the same shape, and one of these, near the south-west corner, contains a flight of steps leading to the top of the terrace. The complete towers on the west side are two storeys in height, and are built with a slight taper upwards. Of the other two on the east side, the one in the south-east corner is provided with stone *jālīs* in each of the alternate sides of its upper storey. It is said to have been built by Ibrāhīm Khān to serve as his own burial place, but as it was not completed when he died, he was buried at the feet of the saint.

Shāh Daulat's tomb is locally known as the Chhoṭī Dargāh, as distinguished from the shrine of Qāẕī Yaḥyā Maneri close by, which is called the Baṛī

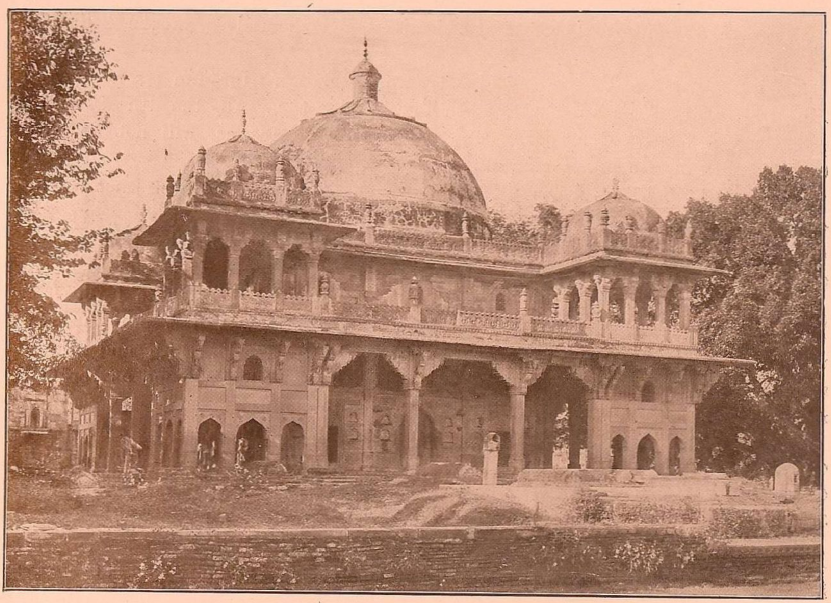

FIG. 33.—Tomb of Shāh Daulat, Maner.

Dargāh—Shaikh Yaḥyā being an ancestor of Shāh Daulat. The mausoleum is perhaps the finest monument in the Province, and is entirely built of Chunār sandstone. It stands on a raised platform about 58 feet square and 2 ft. 4 ins. high. The domed chamber forms a square of 34 ft. 8 ins. externally and is enclosed on all sides by a verandah 11 ft. 8 ins. wide. The lofty ceiling of the verandah is most elaborately carved with varied panels of floral and geometrical designs and with verses from the Qur'ān—the carving being comparable to the best work at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. At each of the four corners of the verandah a space (about 12 feet square) has been transformed into an open room by reducing the size of the openings. Above these rooms (if they may be so called) are four small cupolas—each resting on 12 pillars—complete with chhajjas and carved parapets, the latter being surmounted by small balusters or minarets continuing the vertical line of the pillars supporting the cupolas.

Internally, the tomb is 31 feet square. On each side there are four lofty stone pillars—the corner ones being heavier than the others—and between the pillars is a thin stone wall relieved with horizontal mouldings, rows of niches, and three arches containing rectangular stone *jālīs*. The arched spaces above the *jālīs* contain the words Allāh-u-Kāfī in bold Arabic letters. Higher up in the same line are other small *jālīs*. The pillars are surmounted by

massive brackets supporting heavy beams of stone. The square is first changed into an octagon by beams from pillar to pillar crossing the angles of the square, the angles being filled in with corbelling. By very gradual corbelling the octagon is changed into a circle, on which rests the magnificent dome sheltering the graves, of which that of Makhdūm Shāh Daulat is in the centre. Of the two others near his feet, the one to east is that of his wife, and the other to west contains the relics of Ibrāhīm Khān, the builder of the mausoleum.

The north and west sides of the quadrangle in which the tomb is situated are occupied by an open gallery, the flat roof of which is supported on stone pillars. In the middle of the west gallery and projecting from it, is a small mosque (58 ft. by 24 ft.) with an inscription of 3 lines over the central entrance. The first two lines contain verses from the Qur'ān. The third line contains two Persian couplets giving the date of the completion of the mosque as 1028 A.H.=1619 A.D.

The gallery around the quadrangle was never completed; and on the north side it is to be seen only on the west of the large gateway opposite the mausoleum. The gateway is of the usual Early Mughal type, and the passage between the guard rooms is roofed by a regular dome hidden from view by the high parapets above. On either side of the gate is an octagonal tower containing a stair which leads up to the roof. The entrance is only 5 ft. 9 ins. wide. On the outer front, near the parapets, are three inscribed slabs; the one to right or west bearing some verses from the Qur'ān, the other two containing chronograms relating to the construction of the gateway. The inscription on the central slab is in Arabic verse giving 982 A.H.= 1574 A.D. as the date of the gate; that on the left hand slab is in Persian verse, and badly damaged. The front of the gateway, as well as the octagonal towers flanking it, is relieved on the outside with screened windows and domed balconies, which add considerably to its interest and beauty. In front of the gate and serving as an approach to it is a large projecting *chabūtrā* 30 ft. long and about 12 ft. high. It contains two cells in each side and at the far end of it is a stair with steps on three sides.

Tradition assigns some antiquity to Maner, which is said to have been the seat of the Hindū Rājās before Imām Muḥammad Faqīh, the great ancestor of Shāh Daulat, came from Arabia and conquered the place in 576 A.H. (1180 A.D.). Imām Muḥammad Faqīh is now known as Tāj Faqīh (not Tej Fatih as given in the District Gazetteer). He is believed to have handed over the country to Ikhtiyār Khaljī after the latter's conquest of Bihār, and to have returned to Arabia after leaving his three sons to work as Islāmic missionaries in this part of the country. Almost all the saints in Bihār are descendants of Imām Muḥammad Faqīh. Evidence of the former existence of Hindū or Buddhist buildings at Maner is to be seen in a damaged stone tiger now lying near the north gate of the Baṛī Dargāh. It is a mediæval sculpture, and depicts a tiger crushing an elephant between its fore-legs.

In the Baṛī Dargāh to south of the Sh̲āh Daulat's tomb are buried the remains of Sh̲aikh̲ Yaḥyā, a well known ancestor of the saint, after whom the *pargana* is generally called in old histories as "Maner-i-Sh̲aikh̲ Yaḥyā". Sultān Sikandar Lodī (but not the Emperor Bābar) is related to have made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Sh̲aikh̲ Yaḥyā. In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Maner is described as situated near the junction of the Son with the Ganges.

(*g*) Over the large gateway on the north, which is the main entrance into the enclosure, are three inscriptions, two in Arabic and the third in Persian verse.

(*i*) Arabic inscription at the right end :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا اله الاالله محمد رسول الله
و سيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمراً حتى اذاجا ؤها و فتحت ابوابها و قال لهم خزنتها سلام عليكم
طبتم فادخلوها خالدين

Translation.

Bismillāh. Kalima. "And those who shall have feared their Lord shall be conducted by troops towards paradise, until they shall arrive at the same : and the gates thereof shall be ready set open ; and the guards thereof shall say unto them "Peace be on you ! Ye have been good : Wherefore enter ye into paradise to remain therein for ever." (Qur'ān, XXXIX, 73.)

(*ii*) Arabic inscription in the centre :—

كنت في فكر سن هذالباب كان قلبى بعزته ساكنا
قال عقلى على طريق الامر قل من دخله كان آمنا

Translation.

1. I was seeking a chronogram for this gate ; my heart was quiet by His power.
2. My mind thus commanded : say, "whoever enters it shall be safe".

(*iii*) Persian inscription at the left end :—

چون در روضه مقدس شاه روئى رفعت نهاد [بر اتمام]
سال انجامش ازخرد جستم خردم بهر اين خجسته مقام
بدعا لب كشوده و گفتا در دولت كشا[ده باد مدام]

Translation.

1. "When the gate of the holy mausoleum of the Sh̲āh (*i.e.*, the saint) raised its head towards completion,
2. I asked the mind the year of its finishing ; for this auspicious place my mind
3. opened the lip of blessing and said 'May the door of Daulat (power or wealth, and name of the saint also) remain open for ever.' "

(*iv*) Over the central entrance of the small mosque occupying the central position in the gallery to west of the tomb is the following inscription :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - لا اله الاالله محمد رسول الله - اللهم صل على محمد و علي آل محمد
و بارک و سلم - اشهد ان لا اله الاالله وحده لا شريک له و اشهد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله
ان اول بيت وضع للناس الذي ببكة مباركاً و هدي للعالمين فيه ايات بينات مقام ابراهيم و من

دخله کان آمنا و لله علی الناس حج البیت من استطاع الیه سبیلاً و من کفر فان الله غنی عن العالمین

چو این عالی سرائے کعبه تمثال جهان آرا　　بفیض صانع قادر تمامي اقتضا کرده

دل عاصی همي جست از خرد سال بنائے او　　خرد گفتا چو ابراهیم بیت الله بنا کرده

Translation.

1-2. Bismillāh. Kalima. Oh God! bestow peace and blessings on Muḥammad and on the descendants of Muḥammad. I testify that there is no god but God; He is alone and has no partner; and I testify also that Muḥammad is His slave and His Apostle. God Almighty has said "Verily the first house built for the people (for the worship of One God) is that at Bakka (Mecca); it is a blessing and a guidance for all the universe. In it is the well known Maqām-i-Ibrāhīm. And whosoever enters it is safe. And men have a duty towards God—that of performing the Hajj at this house—only such of the men as can afford to go there. And he who does not believe—well, God is independent of all the universe.

3. When this lofty K'aba-like, world-adorning edifice was completely finished through the benevolence of the powerful Maker,

4. the heart of 'Āṣī was consulting the mind for the year of its construction. Then mind said "Like Ibrāhīm (Abraham) he has built the House of God".

According to the *Abjad* reckoning the date comes to 1028 A.H. (which began on the 9th December, 1618). The *tārikh* contained in the last hemistich betrays the name of the builder of the Dargāh of Shāh Daulat, *viz.*, Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Jang, son of Mirzā Ghiyāth Beg I'timād-ud-Daulah. He began his official life as Bakhshī in Gujarāt and appears to have become a disciple of the saint early in life. He was appointed Governor of Bihār in A.H. 1024 and afterwards of Bengal in A.H. 1028 and stayed there till A.H. 1032 (=1622 A.D.) when he was killed in the battle with Prince Khurram afterwards Shāh Jahān.

(*v-vi*) Two Persian inscriptions in Nasta'līq characters occur over the south entrance of the tomb. The verses are engraved on a square slab of black stone, and read as follows:—

(1) قطب اقطاب زمان قدوۂ دین　　آنکه از مهر و مه انور بوده

(2) شاه دولت که سوئے عالم قدس　　چون ز گیتی بسفر در بوده

(3) سال هجرش خرد عاصي گفت　　وارث حال پیمبر بوده

---

(1) از بهر نثار این بنائے آباد　　از درج دلم دو در تاریخ فتاد

(2) اول بشمر روضۂ احباب و دوم　　مانند بهشت جاودان ایمن باد

Translation.

(V). 1. A Qutb among the Qutbs of the world, a leader of the Faith, who is brighter than the Sun and the Moon—*viz.*

2. Shāh Daulat; when he journeyed from this world to the world of Purity,

3. 'Āsī's wisdom found the year of his flight (from this world): "He had inherited the spiritual absorption of the Prophet." This chronogram gives the date of the saint's death as 1017 A.H.=1608 A.D.

(VI). 1. As a gift to this prosperous building, two pearls of chronograms fell from the casket of my heart.

2. Take "Friends' garden (or tomb)" as the first, and as the second, "May it ever remain secure like the Heavens."

(*h*) Good; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 238-41; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 19; C. S. R. VIII, 22-23; Dist. Gazet., Patna, 201-203; E. I., II, 295-6; Elliot IV, 462; Āīn, II, 150; (*k*) 344, 345, 346, 1632, 1635, 1636, 1639, 1909-10.

No. 29.—(*a*) The tank.

(*b*) South of S̲h̲āh Daulat's Tomb and opposite the Inspection Bungalow, Maner; (*c*) Sayyid S̲h̲āh Fazl-i-Ḥusain Ṣāḥib, Sajjāda Nas̲h̲īn of Maner; (*d*) II c; (*e*) Contemporary with the Tomb of Mak̲h̲dūm S̲h̲āh Daulat (No. 28).

(*f*) The tank of Maner measures about 600 feet north to south and 440 feet east to west, thus covering an area over 5 acres in extent. It was built by Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān, who probably intended to construct a mausoleum for himself on the other side of the tank, about where the Inspection Bungalow now stands. But his death occurred before the project could be accomplished, and he is now buried at the feet of his spiritual guide Mak̲h̲dūm S̲h̲āh Daulat.

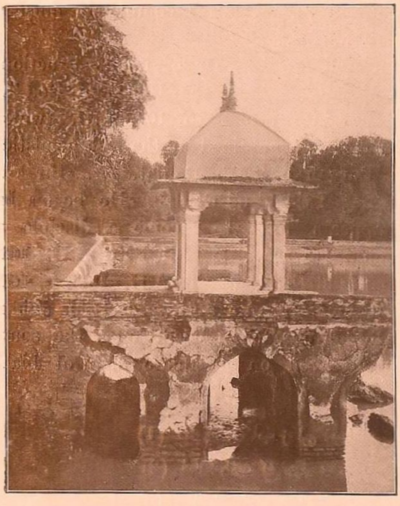

FIG. 34.—S̲h̲āh Daulat's tank, Maner.

Originally the tank was filled by means of a tunnel in the north-west corner connecting with the waters of the Son; but as the river has considerably receded the tunnel only serves its intended purpose now during the rainy season. The tunnel is a little more than 100 yards in length. At intervals, in its arched roof, are several stone slabs covering apertures made for lighting the tunnel when it is necessary to clear it. Flights of steps forming *ghāts* in the masonry walls of the tank originally led down to the water, but during the recent repairs they were changed into platforms with steps only at their ends; so that very few persons can now approach the water at one and the same time. In the middle of each side, except the south, two open pavilions surmounted by *chhatrīs* projected into the tank; but one of those on the east, and the two on the north, have totally disappeared, while the others are in a more or less ruinous condition. The bungalow commands a very fine view of the tank, picturesquely shaded by clusters of trees on either side, and of the mausoleum of S̲h̲āh Daulat in the background.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Fair. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Patna, 201-03; L. A. M. B., 238, 239 and, 42. (*k*) 1637, 1638.

Nālandā.

No. 30.—(*a*) All mounds, structures, and buildings within the acquired area at Nālandā.

(*b*) To the south of the modern village of Baṛgāon, or the "Village of the Large Banyan Tree"; (*c*) Government; (*d*) I and IIa; (*e*) Founded between the 5th and 7th Centuries A.D.

(*f*) In view of the complete silence of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited India between 405 and 411 A.D., concerning this important centre of Buddhist culture, which Yuan Chwang, who followed him between 630 and 645 A.D., describes at some length, it is probable that Nālandā came into existence between 425 and 625 A. D.

The present name of the locality is Baṛgāon. "Burgaon," writes Mr. Broadley, who excavated here in the seventies, "has been identified, beyond the possibility of a doubt, with that *Vihāra-grāma* on the outskirts of which, more than 1,000 years ago, flourished the great Nālandā Monastery, the most magnificent and most celebrated seat of Buddhist learning in the world." When the caves and temples of Rājagṛha were abandoned to the ravages of decay, and the followers of Tathāgata forsook the dwellings of their great teachers, the monastery of Nālandā arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes of Burgaon. Successive monarchs vied in its embellishment; lofty pagodas were raised in all directions; halls of disputation and schools of instruction were built between them; shrines, temples and topes were constructed on the side of every tank and encircled the base of every tower; and around the whole mass of edifices were grouped "the four-storied dwellings of the preachers and teachers of Buddhism."

Yuan Chwang records the tradition that 500 merchants purchased the site of Nālandā for 100,000 gold pieces, and presented it to Buddha, who preached the Law here for three months; and that most of the merchants attained the fruit of Arhatship. The pilgrim, who was admitted as a student by the abbot Śīlabhadra to Bālāditya's college, thus describes the various buildings at Nālandā:—

"After the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, an old king of this country called Śakrāditya from a principle of loving obedience to Buddha, built this convent.

"After his decease, his son Budhagupta-rājā seized the throne, and continued the vast undertaking; he built, towards the south, another *Sanghārāma*.

"Then his son (*successor*) Tathāgata-rājā built a Sanghārāma to the eastward.

"Next, his son (or, *direct descendant*) Bālāditya built a *Sanghārāma* to the north-east. Afterwards the king, seeing some priests who came from the country of China to receive his religious offerings, was filled with gladness, and he gave up his royal estate and became a recluse.

"His son Vajra succeeded, and built another *Sanghārāma* to the north. After him a king of Middle India built by the side of this another *Sanghārāma*.

"Thus six kings in connected succession added to these structures.

"Moreover, the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (*of the Saṅghārāma*). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like pointed hill-tops, are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (*of the morning*), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

"From the windows one may see how winds and the clouds (*produce new forms*), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the Sun and Moon (*may be observed*).

"And then we may add how the deep, translucent ponds bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with the Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amra groves spread over all their shade.

"All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene.

"The *Saṅghārāmas* of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height. The priests belonging to the convent, or strangers (*residing therein*) always reach to the number of 10,000, who all study the Great Vehicle, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the *Vedas* and other books, the *Hetuvidyā*, *Sabdavidyā*, the *Chikitsāvidyā*, the works on Magic (*Atharva-Veda*), the *Sāṅkhya*; besides these they thoroughly investigate the "miscellaneous" works. There are 1,000 men who can explain twenty collections of Sutras and Śāstras and perhaps ten men, including the Master of the Law, who can explain fifty collections. Śīlabhadra alone has studied and understood the whole number. His eminent virtue and advanced age have caused him to be regarded as the chief member of the community. Within the temple they arrange every day about 100 pulpits for preaching, and the students attend these discourses without fail, even for a minute (*an inch shadow on the dial*).

"The priests dwelling here, are, as a body, naturally (or spontaneously) dignified and grave, so that during the 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules.

"The king of the country respects and honours the priests, and has remitted the revenue of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred householders in these villages, day by day, contribute several hundred piculas[1] of ordinary rice, and several hundred catties[2] in weight of butter and milk. Hence the students here, being so abundantly supplied, do not require to ask for the four requisites[3]. This is the source of the perfection of their studies, to which they have arrived."

[1] 1 picula = 133 lbs.
[2] 1 catty=150 lbs.
[3] Food, clothes, bedding and medicine.

The monastery sheltered several thousand priests, of the highest ability and talents, whose fame spread over wide regions. Their conduct is stated to have been exemplary, and they followed with all sincerity the teachings of the moral law. The monastic regulations at Nālandā were of a rigid character and strict obedience to them was demanded. Discussion on the most abstruse problems proceeded from morn till night, to the mutual enlightenment of young and old. Those whose knowledge was confined to the *Tripitakas* alone, we are informed, had to hide themselves for shame. Students from different parts of India flocked to the monastery to participate in the discussions; but before they could obtain admission, they were required to give satisfactory answers to difficult questions put to them by the keepers of the gates. Seven or eight of every ten, being unable to answer, had to retire; while the others who succeeded were certain to be humbled as soon as they took part in the debate, and lose their renown. But the learned among them who secured admission had their doubts settled; and thus the stream of knowledge continued to flow out over the length and breadth of the country. Men of conspicuous talents, of solid learning, great ability, illustrious virtues, who had distinguished themselves above the ordinary had their names inscribed on the list of College celebrities; which included Dharmapāla and Chandrapāla, who gave a fragrance to Buddha's teachings; Guṇamati and Sthiramati of excellent reputation; Prabhāmitra of clear discourse; Jinamitra of exalted eloquence, etc., etc. Such were the luminaries in the Buddhist intellectual firmament to whom are ascribed numerous treatises and commentaries, and whose doctrines were widely diffused and have survived to modern times.

In connection with the ceremonial of worshipping the images it is recorded that large offerings were made to the figure of Tārā-Bodhisattva on every fast day of the year; and Yuan Chwang tells us that "the kings, and ministers and the great people of the neighbouring countries offered exquisite perfumes and flowers, and carried gem-covered flags and canopies; whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days."

The remains of Nālandā include a range of numerous massive brick ruins, running north and south, of the great stūpas attached to the monasteries.

Lying east of the stūpa mounds, and running parallel to them north and south at a distance of about 200 feet, is a range of vihāras, the original courtyards of which can be traced in the square patches of cultivation set in a débris-strewn area of some 1,600 by 400 feet. These open spaces possibly mark the positions of the courtyards of the six monasteries which Yuan Chwang describes. As recorded above, five of the six monasteries are said to have been built by five consecutive princes of the same family, and the sixth by their successor, referred to as the king of Central India. Detached mounds farther afield to the east, west and north mark the sites of other buildings; while individual sculptures scattered all over the site point to the days of Nālandā's greatness. General Cunningham is of opinion that he met with the finest sculptures in India at this site; and it is undoubted that a

considerable portion of the finest sculptures now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, came from here.

To the south of the monastery, according to Yuan Chwang, there was a tank in which it is said the dragon or Nāga-Nālandā used to dwell, after whom the place has been named. Cunningham identified this tank with the present small tank to the south called Kargidyā Pokhar, which corresponds in position to the pool of the Nāga.

Monastery No. I.

In March 1916, Dr. Spooner commenced the excavation of the area by digging a trench along a line running north-west and south-east from the site No. 2 of General Cunningham, called by him the monastery of Buddha-Gupta. In the course of operations patches of the pavement of this monastery, together with its north wall and a cross wall of one of the cells of the adjoining monastery to the south, ascribed by Cunningham to Śakrāditya, were discovered a few feet below the surface. The north-western corner of the latter monastery was also cleared disclosing what appeared at first to be a two storeyed structure, though the upper storey has subsequently proved to be a later erection covering an earlier building. Some sculptured fragments were discovered in the few cells so far cleared, as well as a small "blackish stone" plaque in which the Buddha and his attendants were delicately cut. Except for its broken upper portion the plaque was in perfect preservation. These excavations were later on closed in, and the exploration of the monastery temporarily abandoned.

The north wall of the southern monastery on being disclosed measured 205 feet, and the side walls 168 feet. The wall is 6′-6″ thick, which is in-

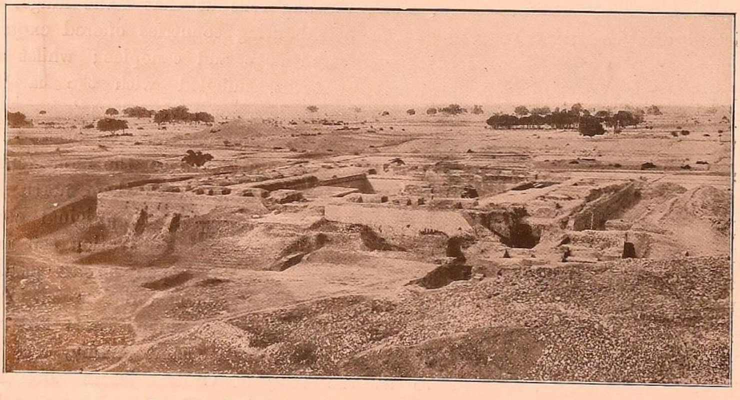

FIG. 35.—General view of Monastery Site I; from west, Nālandā.

creased by a foot on the west side. The quadrangle is rectangular; and is built of superior bricks of reddish tint and admirable texture, rubbed so smooth that the brick joints are scarcely noticeable. The patches of

plaster left here and there *in situ* indicate that the walls were covered with this material and then, perhaps, decorated in some manner. The entrance to the monastery is in the centre of the west wall, where a grand stair 32 feet wide is met with projecting some 38 feet. The total height of the west wall externally is about 25 feet. Along the interior wall, on the four sides, are rows of chambers which vary slightly in size, but average about 10 feet square. These latter are each provided with two bed-recesses measuring 6 ft. 9 ins. in length, while two square niches appear in the chambers at the north-west and south-east corners. In front of the chambers there is a continuous walk 10 ft. 6 ins. in width, which on the court side has been enclosed by a low parapet wall. In the partial clearance then effected, an ornamental moulding around the courtyard walls, and a few fragmentary sculptures of a comparatively late date and of lesser interest, were discovered. These latter included a small standing Buddha and four seated ones.

As anticipated by Dr. Spooner in the first season of his operations through certain significant features even then apparent, there are several strata discernable, indicative of successive desertions and re-occupations of the site. The second level is represented by a concrete pavement which lies immediately below the first and is to be found in all the chambers mentioned above on cutting through their floors to a depth of 2 feet. Similarly, the third level, which is 3 ft. 9 ins. below the first, is represented by a further pavement of lime-concrete. A stone drain in the north wall of the courtyard 6 ft. 9 ins. below the first floor level would appear from its position to be contemporaneous with the third pavement level and to have originally served the courtyard of the monastery.

Among the most important of the strata are the fourth and fifth levels; and to add to the clearness of what follows, it is best to begin in the reverse order. Originally the courtyard was surrounded by an open colonnaded verandah on the four sides, which on the topmost level has all been covered over and paved with lime concrete to serve as an open walk in front of the chambers. The entrance to the monastery lay in the west side through a grand portico 49 ft. by 23 ft. 6 ins. resting on pillars, the bases of which are still left *in*

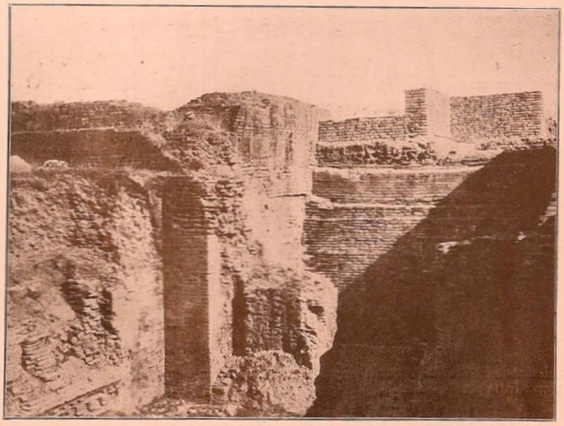

Fig. 36.—Monastery I; main western gateway, Nālandā.

situ. It seems as though latterly this feature was converted into a porch with an ante-chamber by the addition of walls projecting from the sides, which narrowed down the door to 6 ft. Flanking this door were found traces of stucco figures, and similar figures were also found in the large niches in the north and south walls of the portico. These latter have now been temporarily filled in with a view to their preservation. The brick walls here as well as the ground where charcoal is lying even now bear unmistakable traces of burning. From this portico one would enter the monastery, the chambers of the monks lying on all sides with open cloisters in front. These have been opened up to the bottom over the south half of the building, the superstructure in the remaining portion having been allowed to stand. In the north-west corner of the courtyard is a well, 7 ft. in diameter, for the use of the monks, which is finished off with a circular parapet at the top. This parapet would appear to be a later addition, for, about 3 ft. 6 ins. below, the well is square externally where it pierces an original brick paving below. Connected with this original brick floor in the south-west corner of the court is a sort of platform which in some ways recall

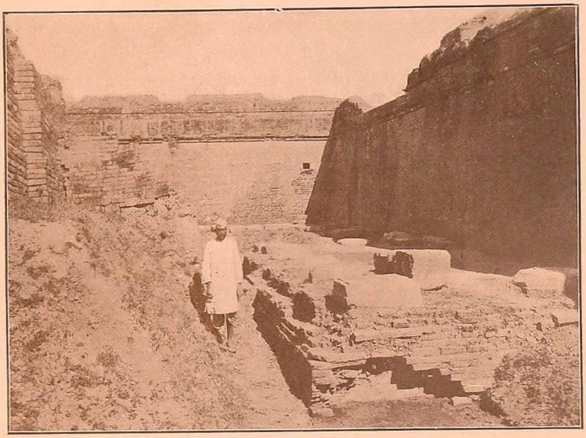

FIG. 37.—Monastery I; colonnaded *chabūtra* on north side of courtyard, before conservation; from south, Nālandā.

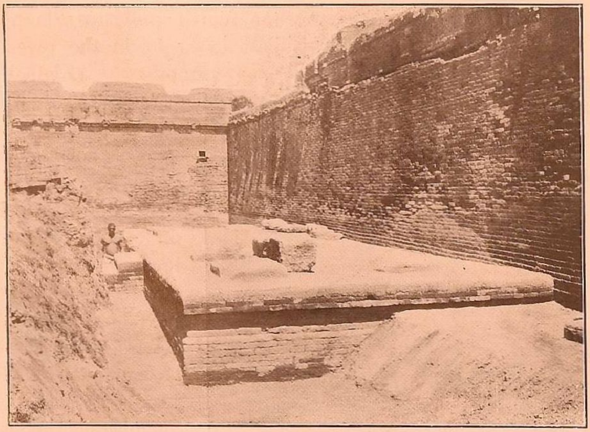

FIG. 38.—Monastery I; colonnaded *chabūtra* on north side of courtyard, after conservation; from south, Nālandā.

similar features existing at Taxila. Along the cloistered walls were originally placed stone figures on pedestals, which Dr. Spooner thinks were removed when the monastery was deserted. In the centre of the east side, and attached to the back wall, was the chapel enshrining a colossal stucco figure of the seated Buddha, of which merely indications of the legs remain. Immediately in front of the sanctum, and at a slightly lower level, is a raised platform, which, from the stone bases of the columns still *in situ*, appears to have been an open, pillared portico. It is worthy of note that the large gateway of the sanctum seems at some later period to have been blocked in the middle by a masonry pier, on either side of which was left a small door. This is apparent through the straight line of the jambs of the wide original gateway being visible in the brick wall face.

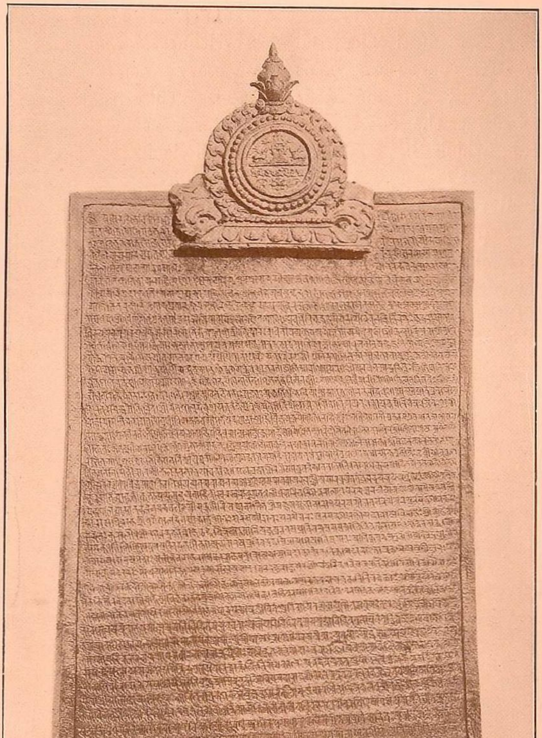

FIG. 39.—Monastery I ; Copper plate of Devapāladeva found in excavation after cleaning (obverse), Nālandā.

In the entrance to the monastery Mr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī discovered a very important copper plate inscription of Śrī Devapāladeva, the third sovereign of the Pāla Dynasty, of which he gives the following summary :—

"The seal is soldered on to the plate and bears the legend '*Śrī-Devapāladevasya*' written below the emblem of *dharmachakra* and the two gazelles. The plate bears 42 lines on the obverse and 24 on the reverse measuring about 1 ft. 4 ins. long, excepting the last line, which is only 4 ins. in length, and written in Sanskrit and early *Devanāgarī* script. Though the record is one, yet from about the middle of the 8th line on the reverse, where the imprecatory verses terminate, up to its very end, it is a sort of postscript which glorifies the ambassador *Bala-Varmmā* and his liege-lord

Śrī Bālaputradeva, the king of *Suvarṇadvīpa*, which is apparently the present Sumatra, and for the second time gives the object of the record (which has already been mentioned before on the obverse), *viz.*, the grant of villages as endowment for the monastery at Nālandā.

"The charter practically ends with the 42nd line on the obverse with the date *Samvat 38 Kārtikadine 21*, "on the 21st day of Kartika of the year 38," which apparently pertains to the regnal year of king Devapāladeva. The introductory portion, which is all in verse, is identical with that of the Monghyr grant and is likewise in verse; but it at once enables us to improve on the transcript given by Kielhorn or other scholars who could not see the original Monghyr plate, as that has been lost. The object of the charter, as given on the obverse side, is to record the grant of some villages in the districts of Rājagriha and Gayā in the Śrīnagara (*i.e.*, Patna) Division, for the upkeep of the monastery of Nālandī and the comforts of the monks or *bhikshus* coming from the four quarters, for medical aid and for writing *dharma-ratnas* or religious books and similar other purposes. This monastery was, apparently, built at the instance of the said king of *Suvarṇadvīpa*. This is the usual object of all such charters. But the chief point of interest this record possesses is the political bearing which it has on the relationship of the great Pāla King, namely, Devapāladeva, and the king of *Suvarṇadvīpa* or Sumatra whom it calls Śrī Bālaputradeva. The inscription says that king Devapāladeva granted the villages at the request of this king Śrī Bālaputradeva, made through his ambassador or Dūtaka, namely, Balavarmman, who was his heroic *Maṇḍalādhipati* for the above mentioned purposes. While informing us of the wide fame of Nālandī, the document further tells us that this Śrī Bālaputradeva was the grandson of the king of *Yavabhūmi* (Java, for we know Sumatra was called the first Java), who was the ornament of the great family of *Sailendra* and was rightly known as the tormentor of the brave foes, and was born of Tārā the queen consort, who was the daughter of Dharmasetu (the bridge of virtue), the scion of the great family of the Moon or the lunar race. We further learn from the postscript that this Śrī Bālaputradeva built the monastery at Nālandā out of his devotion for Buddha, and owing to his regard for his Guru, gave five villages to Devapāladeva, apparently in his own country and in exchange

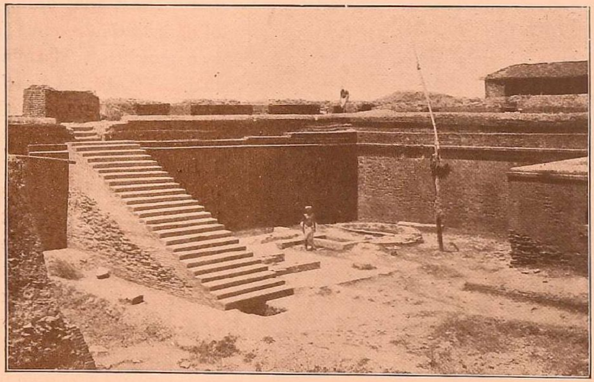

FIG. 40.—Monastery I, courtyard; original stair after conservation, Nālandā.

of the villages the latter granted in the *Srīnagarabhuktī* as I have said above."

Several finds of interest were also made in the colonnaded verandah of the monastery at this same level, which will be more conveniently described at the end of the account.

To pass on to the fourth level, this would appear to result from the re-occupation of the site after its earlier abandonment by the monks; the ground level in the interval having risen somewhat as a result of silt deposit and natural earth accumulation. The verandahs, in which the stone figures were erected to inspire the monks with nobler aims, were apparently no longer desired, and therefore filled in. Evidence of this is to be found in the fineness of the outer face of the brick-walls exposed to the courtyard, the corresponding inner face having been left rough and uneven. It was at this time that the necessity arose for the two flights of steps, the one leading from the entrance up to the top storey of the monastery, and the other down therefrom into its courtyard; for the monks, it seems, still utilised the well it contained, which was now finished off with the higher circular parapet at its top. It may be observed that the level of the well as added to was slightly higher than the foot of the steps leading down to the courtyard. Another addition of considerable interest was made at this time in about the centre of the north wall of the courtyard, where two structural "caves" of brick with corbelled entrances (3 ft. 10 ins.) to south, curiously resembling the rock-cut caves of Barābar, were erected. These chambers have vaulted roofs; the side walls rising vertically to 3 ft. 9 ins. over which the vault is carried up another 5 ft. 9 ins. The chambers measure 15 ft. 6 ins. by 11 ft. 8 ins. internally, the thickness of the entrance wall being 4 ft. Including the plinth on which these chambers stand, the exterior measures 35 ft. 10 ins. by 19 ft. 9 ins. "As these caves (at Barābar) are cut with curving ceilings, their imitation here has necessitated the covering of the chambers with a vaulted roof, which constitutes not actually the first but is among the first examples prior to Muhammadan influence. No exact date can yet be assigned to this building, but that it is pre-Muhammadan seems certain, and this invests the arch with real importance. The bricks seem to have

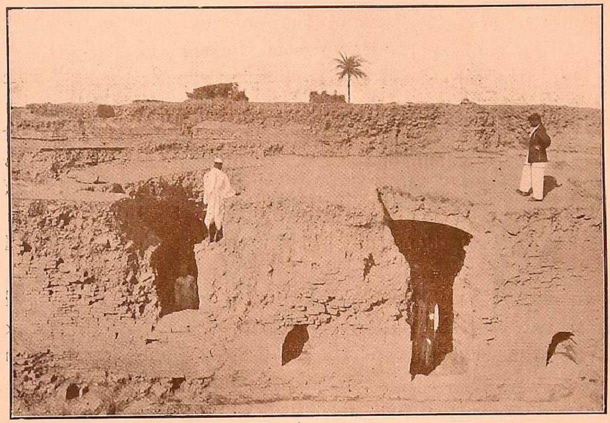

FIG. 41.—Monastery I; two brick built "caves" with arched ceilings in courtyard.

been specially made for the purpose. They are not very large ancient bricks and not squared in the usual way, but laid as stretchers with the sides a little slanted; but there seems to be no real key-stone in our modern sense." The verandah in front yielded several sculptured fragments of some interest, which include one remarkable plaque of fine grained stone representing the eight principal events in the life of Buddha, *viz.*, the birth, the enlightenment, the descent from the *Trayastriṁsa* heaven, the offering of bowls of honey by the monkeys, the taming of the elephant Nalagiri, the first sermon in the Deer Park at Benares, the miracle of Śrāvasti, and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa,* which last alone is missing. The plaque appears to have been lodged originally in the niche between the doors of the two caves. It was found in fragments, which have been carefully re-set together.

Evidence of a sixth stratum of occupation in the form of a fragmentary wall beneath the originally open-colonnaded *chabūtrá* projecting from the east side of the quadrangle here has latterly been revealed; and beneath it again there is a seventh level, which may or may not prove to be the earliest on the site; though the present indications point to its being the first of the structures erected here.

This seventh stratum occurs some 6 feet below the verandah floor of the fifth level, and is represented by yet another pavement of lime concrete which has been found in the south-east corner of the monastery, and again in one of the rooms in the south side.

Further excavation recently carried out disclosed the existence of a brick paving in the southern half of the monastery, which feature probably extends over the whole courtyard. This paving, which is apparently contemporaneous with the seventh stratum as revealed beneath the verandah floor, was found at a level of some 22 feet below the extreme top parapet of the monastery courtyard, and 3 ft. 6 ins. below the courtyard level of the 5th successive stratum referred to above. A feature of interest uncovered at this seventh level in the centre of the south wall was the remains of what appeared to be a low *chabūtra,* inset in which were duplicate panels in low relief of bird-bodied men worshipping a lotus plant.

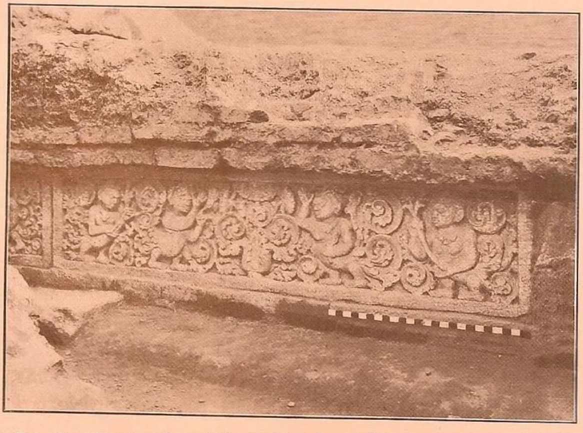

FIG. 42.—Monastery I; sculptured slab in low *chabūtrá* exposed in south side of courtyard, Nālandā.

From the style of this decorative relief Sir John Marshall considers it to date probably from the 7th century or "possibly the 6th."

The level of the last stratum in relation to the fifth (assigned on the evidence afforded by the copper plate of Devapāladeva found here to approximately the 9th century A.D.) would seem to indicate independently a date of about the 6th or 7th century A.D. for the seventh stratum, thus confirming that suggested by the style of the decorative panel above mentioned.

Two further subsidiary levels in the succession of monastic structures erected on this same site are discernable in the small square chaitya-feature in the centre of the court, these occurring between the 3rd and 4th levels apparent in the courtyard walls while evidence of a later brick facing added to the previous structure is also to be seen in the exterior of the monastery. Thus no fewer than nine different levels and distinct periods occur at this single monastery site No. I.

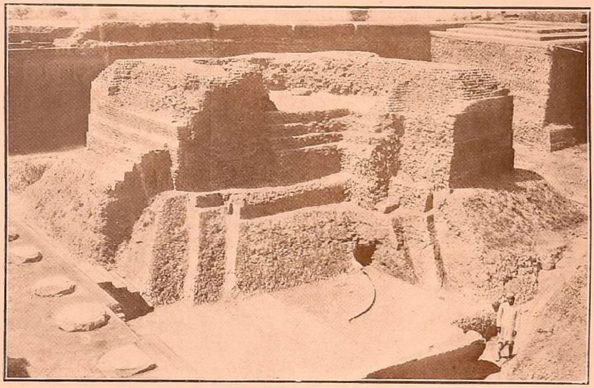

Fig. 43.—Monastery I ; central chaitya in courtyard after cutting away N. E. corner, Nālandā.

Monastery No. IA.

Overlapped at its north-east corner by monastery No. I which it adjoins, is the monastery designated Ia. It is entered on the north through a pillared portico—of which only the bases of the columns now remain—and a vestibule. The monastery follows the usual plan with the monks' chambers set round a quadrangular court the main shrine being centrally in the south side, and the entrance gateway directly opposite. An open-pillared verandah ran originally around the quad-

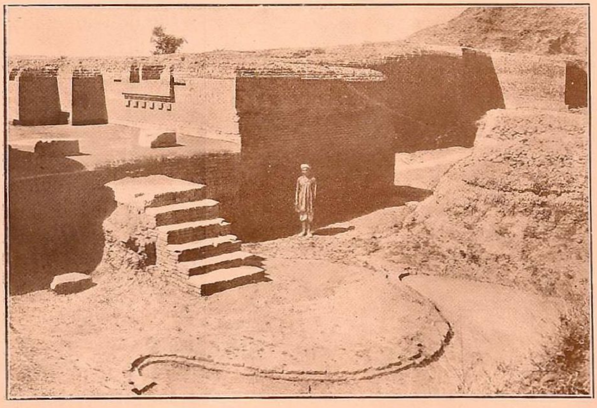

Fig. 44—Monastery IA ; main north entrance, after conservation, Nālandā.

rangle, which is paved with bricks set out in a number of rectangular panels. In the centre are two parallel rows of hearths, seven in number, connected by a common duct of corbel construction about 2 ft. high. This feature occurs again in the eastern verandah. Its purpose seems, at present, to defy explanation, but Pandit Hīrānandā Śāstrī, who excavated it, thinks it might have been used for preparing *rasas* or drugs, in which case the building would have been a medical seminary or *Bhishak-śālā*. In the north-west corner of the court is an octagonal well, which on clearance yielded a number of earthen vases, and a heavy piece of stone to which was attached a fragment of iron ore weighing 48 lbs. The present water level is about 15 feet below the court. It is remarkable that heaps of decayed rice and oats were found in two chambers on the east, suggestive of their possible use as store rooms. Again, in other rooms on the north, several copper and stone images of Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, and Buddha were discovered, perhaps an indication of the saints favoured by the individual monks residing here. A flight of steps rises between two of the rooms, probably to afford access to the verandah roof. An important item of evidence for the chronology of this monastery is furnished by the circumstance of its walls and those of the structure to the north-east of it intersecting at their contiguous corners ; while from the existence

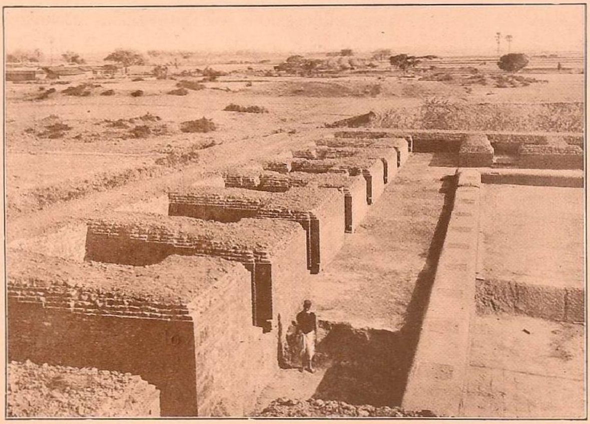

FIG. 45.—Monastery IA ; east side cells after conservation ; from N.W. corner.

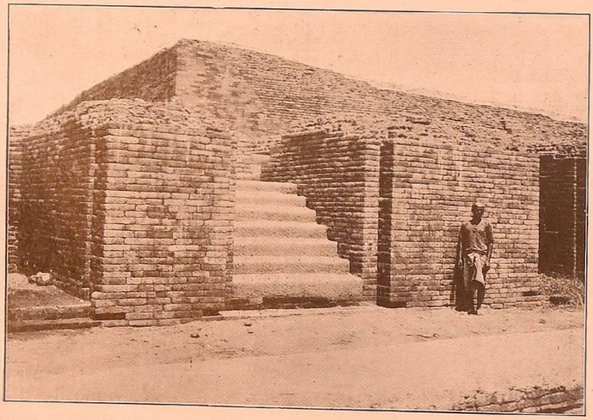

Fig. 46.—Monastery IA ; north side stair after repair, Nālandā.

of the drain passing through its south-west corner and entering the sacrosanct stūpa court of site No. 3, it is probable that the monastery had fallen to ruins and was deserted before the stūpa came into existence. (*Vide* Main stūpa *post.*)

The Temple (*Site No. 2*).

Immediately west of the Bālāditya monastery quadrangle of Cunningham (Site numbered 4 in his account of Nālandā), the four sides of a ruined stone temple were uncovered during the excavation in 1916. The entrance to the temple was up a low flight of steps on the east. The centre of each façade is relieved by a slight projection; but the feature of special interest here is a dado of 211 sculptured panels over the exterior base moulding. These panels are symmetrically disposed around the façades, 20 appearing on each side of the main entrance, and 19 in each of the three divisions of the remaining walls. The pilasters which separate the panels are decorated with the familiar pot-and-foliage design; and are surmounted by arches carved in trefoil shape,

FIG. 47.—Temple site 2 ; sculptured panels on plinth, Nālandā.

certain of them being of pointed form. Some of the panels have weathered away, while others seems to have been left unfinished. This dado of panels is surmounted by a double cornice, the lower moulding being relieved at intervals with replicas of the arched fronts of *chaityas* alternated by well carved geese.

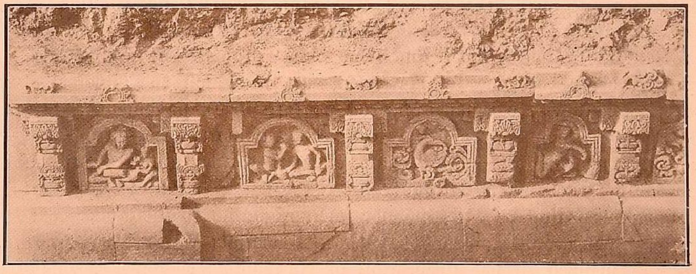

FIG. 48.—Temple site 2 ; other sculptured panels on plinth, Nālandā.

The upper moulding, of which the greater part is missing, is decorated with larger replicas of the same *chaitya* motif ; birds of various kinds posed in divers

ways appearing in the intervals between them. In a few places there are traces of a third cornice of greater prominence, in one case portraying a human head within an arch. This third cornice was, however, either never finished or subsequently ruined before the present brick walling here was erected. There is a pleasing variety of sculpture figured on the panels of the dado: human couples in amorous postures; representations of *makaras*; scroll, foliage and geometrical patterns; again, elaborately dressed women seated at ease in pairs; *kinnaras* playing on musical instruments; a snake charmer, etc. The sculptures of deities include Śiva and Pārvatī in separate panels; or together in one, where the goddess turns aside in fear on beholding the terrific form of her spouse; Kārtikeya with his peacock; Gaja Lakshmī; the gods Agnī and Kuvera; the Kachchhapa Jātaka cleverly represented; Buddha (?) with writing materials; and there are scenes depicting archery. In other panels men and women appear in contorted attitudes; and a monstrous lion is depicted, its long neck towering over a smaller beast which has a curiously porcine look. "Many are occupied," says Dr. Spooner about these panels, "with merely decorative devices, some of which are of extreme beauty and fascination. One shows a design based upon the hexagon, which Sir John Marshall tells me was supposed, like the pointed arch, to be exclusively of Moslem inspiration in this country; while others show a great variety of intricate and altogether charming geometrical designs. Perhaps the strangest, though, are those panels which represent apparently folding doors or gates, where one wing of the gate is shown to be closed while the other half is rendered open by the simple device of not sculpturing it at all, but letting one-half of the figure within appear to view. One panel is entirely taken up with the heraldic mask so popular in Gupta art and in the art of later times, down to the coming of the Moslems. Another shows a human-headed bird with a very flowery tail, the whole having a curiously Burmese look about it. One shows a *makara* with a very ornate flowery tail; another a seated *kinnara* apparently playing on a flute; one is given up to a device of eglantines and several show very fancy birds much like the phœnix or hō-o, in the art of China or Japan. A very heraldic, pheasant sort of bird is strutting like any jackdaw of Rheims in another, swinging triumphantly an inverted *vajra* in his beak...."

The outside stone plinth and the side projections having been cleared, Dr. Spooner came to some foundation stones on which the superstructure rests, and still lower down to what appeared to be a brick pavement a few feet wide, at the edge of which a trench was dug down some 8 feet. From the evidence disclosed in this operation it became clear that the stone temple above was a much later structure erected over an older brick building; and as the panels of the plinth, according to Dr. Spooner, are assignable to about the sixth or seventh century A.D., it would appear that these materials were taken from an older building and utilized in the decoration of this temple, the level of which in relation to the other strata disclosed in the Nālandā area postulates a considerably later date for it. Dr. Spooner continues, "The exquisite quality of the carvings shows that their date must have been not far distant from Imperial Gupta times."

The external dimensions of the temple are 118 ft. by 102 ft., but nothing definite can be said of the interior plan until further clearance is carried out. The usual position of the sanctum is covered with a débris of huge stones, and except for two side chambers, one on each side of the entrance, nothing can yet be made out. Numerous fragments of the *āmalakā* and various stone members used in the construction of the temple are lying about the débris-covered remains.

Among the more noteworthy sculptures recovered here during the excavations were :—

(1) Buddha under a trefoil canopy seated in the *dharmachakra-mudrā* in the Deer Park at Benares. Late mediæval; height 1′ 8″.

(2) Standing image of Vishṇu holding in his four hands the *śaṅkh*, *chakra*, *gadā* and *padma*. Height 7″.

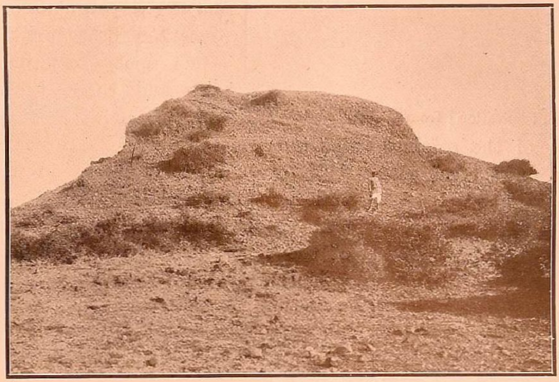

FIG. 49.—*Stūpa* site 3, before excavation ; from west, Nālandā.

Line of High Mounds parallel to the range of Monasteries.

Main Stūpa (site No. 3).—The high *stūpa* at the south end of the range of mounds running north and south and parallel to the line of monasteries, is the Vihāra A of Cunningham, described as being 53 feet high and from 65 to 70 feet in thickness at the top. This he would identify with the *stūpa* mentioned by Yuan Chwang as marking the place where the Lord Buddha dwelt for three months explaining the Law to the Gods.

In the course of excavating the *stūpa*, evidence of no less than 7 integuments, each built over and around the ruins of a previous one, have come to light. The first three of these *stūpa*-integuments, which were found buried deep in the interior of the mound, are quite small (all under 12 feet square) and have the appearance of votive *stūpas*, but the last four are extensive structures and were ascended by wide approach stairs projecting from the north face.

Owing to the shattered condition of the later remains above them it has been necessary to cover up the three earliest *stūpas* again, but portions of the last four have been left exposed to view. All the *stūpas* are approximately square in plan ; and a curious feature of the four large ones is that the corners of the *stūpas* have survived much better than the facades connecting them.

The fifth of these integuments to be built is noteworthy for the elaborate stucco decoration that covers its corner towers and surviving facades, rows of well-modelled figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattva appearing upon them.

Each successive addition, it is interesting to note, followed the original plan, and to give suitable support to the additional masonry to be erected, a square frame work of encasing walls was built on each side, the casing then being filled in to form a solid core for the enlarged *stūpa*. (See plan, plate II in A. S. R., E. C., 1919-20).

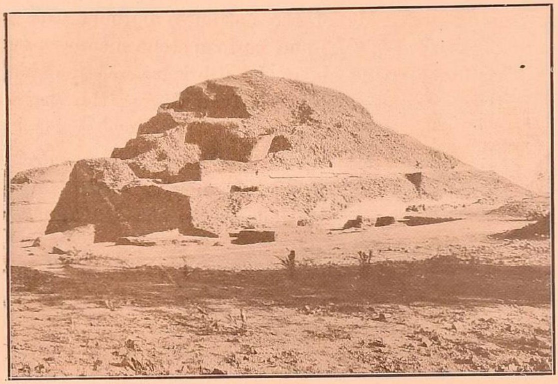

Fig. 50.—*Stūpa* site 3; after excavation; from west, Nālandā.

The main *stūpa* stands surrounded in the court by a large number of smaller *stūpas*, built one over the other on the same spot, sometimes two and three times. As the main *stūpa* increased in size, the level of the original court too generally rose, and many smaller *stūpas* are found in several places half or completely buried in the various floors which have been unearthed. The four latest levels of the *stūpa* court have each been exhibited over a portion of the area exposed. A factor having an important bearing on the chronology of these levels is the existence of a paved drain which originates in the courtyard of Monastery No. I A (*ante*) and enters the *stūpa*-court at the south-east corner, thus indicating apparently that all the four levels referred to above are later than the Monastery No. I A which by then had fallen to ruin and was finally deserted; for it is improbable that a domestic drain would be carried through the sacred enclosure of the *stūpa*-court, especially when it could without apparent difficulty be diverted clear of it to the south.

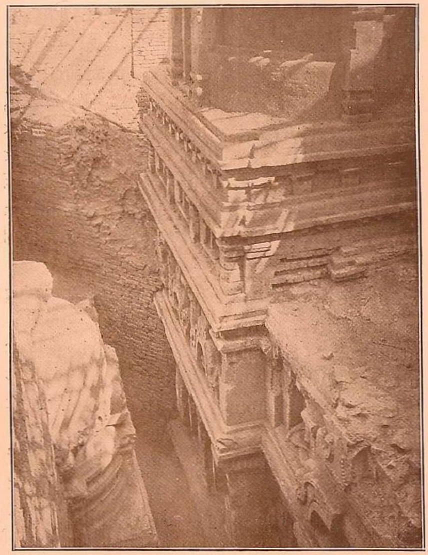

Fig. 51.—*Stūpa* site 3; earlier stucco-covered *stūpa* base, Nālandā.

From this *stūpa* a long trench running north some 1,500 feet up to the high mound locally known as Autalī-dharāhar was dug by Dr. Spooner, which

brought to light the remains of numerous small *stūpas,* several shrines and brick pavements, etc. The excavation yielded very few finds, the only thing worth recording being a seated figure of Avalokiteśvara found towards the southern end of the trench.

FIG. 52.—View of long trench looking south towards *stūpa* site 3, Nālandā.

If we may identify them with Yuan Chwang's description, the high mounds lying in the middle and at the northern extremity of the range of *stūpa* mounds over which the trench was carried were structures of 200 feet and 300 feet high, respectively. The latter of these Cunningham identifies with Bālāditya's Temple, which, according to the Chinese pilgrim, closely resembled the temple of Bodh Gaya. This last, however, in its present form is actually only about 170 feet high. The colossal statue of the ascetic Buddha called Baṭuk Bhairava set up in an enclosure near the foot of this mound was, it would seem, originally enshrined in the temple itself. Another statue of Buddha in the *Bhūmisparśa-mudrā* has also been set up near by. It is attended by a standing figure on each side, and has two flying figures with garlands overhead. The names of them all are inscribed, the attendants being Ārya Vasumitra and Ārya Maitreya, and the flying figures Ārya Sāriputra and Ārya Maudgalayāna, the two principal disciples of Buddha, who, being *Arhats,* possessed the power of flying through the air. It is to be remarked that an encasing wall on the south side of the "Bālāditya Temple" can still be seen, providing another instance of the practice of enlarging an original structure. On the south and west sides a little lower than this, a plinth has been disclosed with a dado containing at least two series of panels, one above the other, and originally decorated with low pilasters of well-carved pot-and-foliage design enclosing the representation of a *stūpa.*

In connection with the history of this temple it is to be surmised that the king Bālāditya of Yuan Chwang's account is possibly to be identified with the Gupta king Narasiṁha Bālāditya (cir. A.D. 485 to 535); but such identification requires substantiation from independent sources before it can be accepted, and this up to the present has not been forthcoming.

The fame of Nālandā throughout the mediæval period was far spread. Even with the political decadence of Magadha, Nālandā continued to enjoy a reputation as the centre of Buddhist culture and retained it under the patron-

age of the Pāla Kings right up to the Muhammadan conquest, when the monasteries appear to have been finally deserted. Evidence of the wide renown of Magadha as the centre of the Buddhist world is afforded in the fact that Vati, or Hsiao Yen, the first Liang emperor of China, who was an ardent Buddhist, sent a mission in A.D. 539 to Magadha to collect *Mahāyānist* texts and to obtain the services of a competent scholar to translate them. The king of Magadha, probably either Jivita Gupta I or Kumāra Gupta III, gladly complied with the wishes of the emperor, and placed the services of the learned Paramartha at the disposal of the mission, which spent several years in India, and which Paramartha afterwards accompanied back to China, taking with him a large collection of the manuscripts he had translated.

The Gazetteer says that, from this Nālandā Monastery, Padmasambhava, the founder of Lāmaism, went to Tibet in A.D. 747 at the invitation of the Tibetan king, and that traces of its widespread influence may even now be seen in the Lhobrak valley where there is a shrine built on the model of Nālandā.

At the present stage of operations for the excavation of the site it is impossible to attempt an account that can be considered as in any way conclusive, but the above is a brief record of the principal buildings as revealed to date.

The following are some of the more important minor antiquities recovered during the course of excavation:—

Finds.

Monastery No. 1.

Stone objects.

(1) A life-size standing figure of Avalokiteśvara (with Dhyānī Buddha on forehead) flanked by two divine female figures with nimbi, kneeling on lotuses (Photo. Neg. No. 1424).

Fig. 53.—Life-size Avalokiteśvara *in situ*.

(2) (*a*) A life-size standing figure of Trailokya-Vijaya. It consists of a large standing figure (with the upper portion gone) casting a thunderbolt held in the right hand, and trampling under foot figures of a male and female holding *vajras* and *triśūlas* in their hands. The image wears a garland of Dhyānī Buddhas. A *pāśa* or noose is represented in the left field, the entire back-

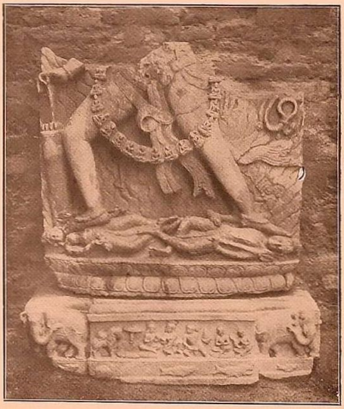

Fig. 54.—Lower half of large Trailokya-Vijaya *in situ*.

ground being carved to represent the flames of fire. Two terrific little figures wearing *Akshamālās* and armed with clubs and shields are portrayed running forward to deal blows at each of the victims (Photo. Neg. No. 1426).

(*b*) The pedestal on which the figure (*a*) stands does not appear to belong to it. At either end of it is a caparisoned elephant and the principal panel shows from left to right, a horse with rider, an umbrella, a scene of merry making, and what resembles an inverted conch-shell preceded by two female devotees, one in the attitude of worship, and the other holding a garland. The whole scene appears to represent the Renunciation or the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* of the Buddha, and if that is so, the horse would be Kanthaka bearing away the *Tathāgata* and the umbrella, the same which is sometimes held by Chhandaka, the groom, and sometimes by the god Brahmā. Below the panel is a succession of fishes swimming in water represented by conventional ripples. The moulding above the panel bears an inscription in *Kuṭila* characters of about the 8th-9th century A.D. which Mr. Mādho Sarūp Vats has read as follows :—

Ōm yad=atra puṇyaṁ=tad=bhavatu bhikshuṇō vra(?)*. . . .ta-bodhi* [*a**] *chāry-ōpādhyāya anuttara-jñā* [*n-ā**] *vāpta* [*ye**] *bha*(?) *ta*(?)*-putra a. . . . . .ākita*(?) *mātā-pitṛi pūrvaṅgamaṅ= kṛitvā sakalasat* [*t**] *va-rāśér =anuttara-jñānāvāptaye* [*11**].

Translation.

Om ! Whatever merit there is in it let it be for the acquisition of the highest knowledge by the monk. . . .bodhi. . . .his Āchārya and Upādhyāya and for the attainment to the highest knowledge by all sentient beings preceded by his. . . .son. . . .and parents.

(3) An elaborately executed figure (No. 224), of Trailokya-Vijaya (ht. $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins.) trampling a male and a female figure under foot. The background portrays flames of fire. On the reverse is an inscription in *Kuṭila* characters, read by Mr. Vats as follows :—

Ākāśa-lakshaṇaṁ sarvva (*ṁ*)*=Ākāśaṁ v=āpya lakshaṇaṁ Ākāśa-samatā-yōgāt=sarvv-āgra-samatā sphuṭāḥ Udaya-Bhadrasya.*

The sense is not quite clear.

(4) The miracle of Śrāvasti, represented by the multiplication of Buddhas on lotuses. The stalk of the central lotus is held by the *Nāga* kings Nanda and Upananda. There is a *vidyādhara* over the capitals on each side at the springing of the trefoil arch. The reverse is inscribed with the creed, and records that it is the gift of Somakona.

Inscription :—*Deva* (*ya*)*-dharmo=ya* (*ṁ*) *Sōmakōnaḥ.* Height $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (No. 386).

(5) A representation of Buddha's enlightenment under the bodhi tree at Bodh-Gaya. The representation is not strictly canonical as the vajrāsana is replaced by a lotus throne. Height $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins. (No. 191).

(6) The taming of the mad elephant Nalagiri at Rājgū. There is a staff bearer to left and a devotee kneeling in the foreground. On the reverse is the

Buddhist creed and *Deva (ya)-dharmmō=yaṁ Achārī Anda-guptasya.* Translation :—This is the appropriate religious gift of Achārī Andagupta. Late mediæval Height 7 ins. (No. 457).

(7) A Vajrasattva (?) with the right leg pendant and the foot on a lotus. In the left hand is a *vajra*; the right is broken. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (No. 371).

FIG. 55.—Stone panel representing the Miracle of Śrāvasti.

(8) A Buddhist Tārā with the foot of a pendent leg placed on the lotus. Height 4 ins. (No. 225).

(9) A seated Kuvera, with money bags under the seat and holding a purse in the left hand. Height $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (No. 161).

(10) A four-armed Kuvera seated on a lion throne; right leg is pendant, the feet resting on a lotus. The figure holds a sword, a lotus (*padma*) and a money bag in its hands. Two devotees praising the potency of wealth appear about the throne, and a *śaṅkha* and the *padmas* beneath the seat. Height 4 ins. (No. 205).

(11) A Śakti of Kuvera, with the right foot placed on one of the *Padmanidhis* (?). Height 4 ins. (No. 145).

(12) Sūrya, standing, and attended by Daṇḍa-Piṅgala and Ati-Piṅgala; Āruṇa, the legless driver, sits in front whipping up the seven horses of the Sun-god's chariot. Height 8 ins. (No. 326).

(13) Ashṭabhujī goddess, seated cross-legged, holding among other things too indistinct to identify a bow in one of her hands. Height $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (No. 267).

Terra-cotta plaques and sealings.

Each of these plaques is $9\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in height and divided into four compartments originally surmounted by umbrellas. The top and the bottom compartments in each contain respectively *stūpas* and inscriptions in eleven lines, much defaced.

(1) The second compartment of this plaque depicts a standing, six-armed Avalokiteśvara figure with the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the forehead, and the *amrita* flask hanging down from one of its hands. The image is attended by four-armed goddesses.

(2) Plaque showing seated figures of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā in the 2nd and 3rd compartments.

(3) Another plaque showing two seated figures of Tārā; the upper one with the right leg pendant and the foot resting on a lotus; the lower is a terrific form with arms and the legs interlocked.

(4) In this there is only one compartment representing Buddha's enlightenment under a replica of the Bodh Gaya Temple, with 8 smaller *stūpas* underneath.

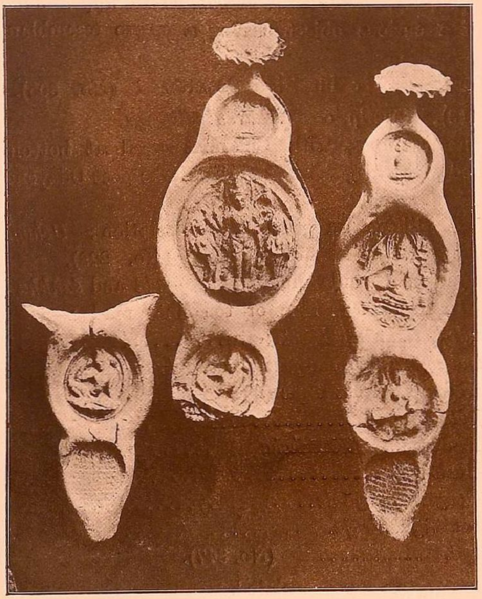

FIG. 56.—Three plaques. (See items 1 and 2.)

(5) A *stūpa* with a tree on either side.

Inscription :—*Kami* (?) *la-vishayē supradhānasya* (No. 346).

Translation :—Of the chieftain in the vishaya of Kamila.

(6) A deity with a protuberent belly seated cross-legged on a lotus and wearing heavy ear-rings. An auspicious jar is held in the left hand. Sun and Moon at the sides.

Inscription :—*Bhallāta-vāṭak=āgrahār=eśa* (?) *Śrīmat-T r a i Vidyasya.*

Translation.

"Of the Illustrious One, well versed in the three lores (vedas), the master of the agrahār (settlement bestowed in perpetuity on Brahmanas) Bhallātavāṭaka."

(On page 45, Archæological Survey Report, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, Mr. Dikshit reads the name in this inscription as *Nallābha*, etc. Mr. Vats, however, remarks that *bha* is exactly identical with the same letter on seal No. 362, line 3 *Śrī Bha* (*gavatyāṁ*), etc., and the 3rd letter with *ta* in the conjunct *Śrī-mattrai*, etc., line 2.)

(7) A male figure seated in Indian fashion, holding flask in the left hand. Serpent hoods appear over the head, and a tree is depicted on each side.

Inscription :—*Purika-grāma-janapadasya i.e.* Of the community of the village Purika (No. 374).

(8) A facetted seal with (*a*) *Stūpa* with a tree on each side.

Inscription :—*Pādapāg-grāmasya i.e.* Of the village Pādapāg.

(*b*) The Deer-Park sermon at Sārnāth represented by a wheel and two deer.

Inscription :—*Śrī Nālandā-Mahā-Vihārē chātur-diś-ārya-bhikshu-saṅghasya.*

Translation :—Of the community of the faithful monks, belonging to the four quarters, in the holy great vihāra of Nālandā (No. 348).

(9) (*a*) Gaja-Lakshmī, Inscription :—*Śrī Lakshmīkasya i.e.* Of Lakshmī.
(*b*) The same as on (8*b*). (No. 139).

(10) A Peacock with *Nīpa* (?) trees in blossom.
Inscription :—*Vallari-bhīpa-bhaṭṭa Mahāñjanasya.* The sense is not quite clear. (No. 159).

(11) A four-armed goddess squatting, *triśūla* and *akshamālā* in upper hands. Mouse (?) as vehicle, in front of a curious object having a vague resemblance to a *triratna.*

Inscription :—*Śrīmad-dēvēśvarī*=The illustrious Dēvēśvarī (No. 305).

(12) Inscribed Sealing (No. 413). Inscription. *Dharmapālitasya.*

(13) Seal bearing numerous small *stūpas,* with Buddhist creed at bottom.

(14) Multifaced sealing inscribed with *Udayendra Kaviḥ i.e.* The poet Udayēndra (No. 367).

(15) Seal showing figure of Kārtikeya on peacock. Inscription :—*Uchogho-preya-bhaṭa* (?) *Mahājanasya.* The sense is not quite clear. (No. 228).

(16) Plaque showing (?) Vishṇu on Garuḍa holding the *gadā* and *śaṅkha* (?) in the right hands ; half broken. Inscription in nine or ten lines reads :—

L. 1. ....(*Chatu*)*s-samudr-āntikkrānta Kīrtteḥ-pra*..........................
L. 2. ....(*Varṇṇ-ā*)*śrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta-chakkra*..............
L. 3. ....*raḥ Śrī-mahārāja Lavvana ? pu* (*tr*).........................
L. 4. (*Bhā*)*gavato Mahārājādhirāja Śrī*.......................................
L. 5. (*Pā*)*d-ānudhyātaḥ Śrī-devyāṁ Vittāchcha de*..........................
L. 6. (*ga*)*va*-(*ma*)*hārāja-Śrī-Jarā-v*(*i*)...
L. 7. ....*Śrī-devyāṁ melyā-de*.. ....
L. 8.............*Vato Mahārājādhirāja.* ....
L. 9.............*Putras-tatpā.* .... (No. 347).

The inscription is too fragmentary to be translated.

(17) Plaque showing well-modelled bull with driver whipping it from behind. Inscription reads :—

L. 1. ....*pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānya-rājā* (*jō*) *varṇ āśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta*......
L. 2. .... *Harivarmmā* [*11**] *tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō jaya.* (351).

Translation :—" (There was) .... Harivarman .... who had other kings brought into subjection by (*his*) prowess and by affection (*for him*) .... in employing (his sovereignty) for regulating the different castes and stages of religious life......
His son who meditated on his feet......"

King Harivarmman and Queen Jayasvāminī are the earliest names in the Maukhari genealogy, but as the record does not stop with them, the name of the prince remains uncertain.

(18) Seal bearing the following inscriptions :—

L. 1. *Varṇ-āśrma-dharmmuvidaḥ sva*....................................
L. 2. *rañjita-prakritēḥ Śrī-Iśāna* (*varmma-nṛipate*).
L. 3. *r-jjayati jagat-prītaye la*(*kshmiḥ*) (No. 349).

Translation.

"Victorious to the joy of the world, is the royal fortune of the King Īśānavarman, who is well acquainted with the duties pertaining to the (different) castes and stages (of life), and who has caused happiness of his subjects." (A record of Īśānavarman, the Maukhari prince, is already known. *Vide* Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 220 ff.)

(20) Seal (No. 362). This find, made by Dr. Spooner, is the second record of Bhāskara-varman and of the dynasty of Pushya Varman that has come to light. The inscription of this fragmentary seal as finally restored by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal, Vol. VI, pt. I, page 151, reads as follows :—

L. 1. *(Śrī-Gaṇapati)varmā Śr(ī) Yājñavatyā(ṁ) Śr(ī) (Mahendravarmā).*
L. 2. *(Śrī-Suvra)tāyāṁ Śrī-Nārāyaṇavarmā (Śrī Devavatyāṁ Śrī-Mahābhūta-varmā).*
L. 3. *(Srī-Vijñāna)vatyāṁ Śrī Chandramukhavarmā Śrī Bho(gavatyāṁ).*
L. 4. *(Śrī-Sthitava)rmā tena Śrī-Nayanaśobhāyāṁ (Śrī-Susthitavarmā).*
L. 5. *(Śrī-Śāmā)lakṣmyāṁ Śrī Supratishṭhita-*
L. 6. *(Varmā Śrī-Bhā)skaravarm-eti.*

(21) Inscribed Seal—The inscription reads as follows :—

L. 1. ....*Ya(pu)tra-*
L. 2. ....*(Śrī) Yaśomatyāṁ-utpannaḥ-*
L. 3. ....*[bha] ṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī.*
L. 4. ....*ma Bhaṭṭārī(ri)kā mahādēvī Śrī ya*........
L. 5.........*ma Māheśvaraḥ Maheśvara iva sarvva*
L. 6. ......*[bha] ṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Harshaḥ.*

The inscription is too fragmentary to be translated.

(22) Seal (No. 416) bearing the following inscriptions :—

L. 1. ....*Yaśōmatyāṁ-utapannaḥ.*
L. 2. ....*(ma)hārājādhirāja Śrī Rā (jyava) rddhana [ḥ*] ta*
L. 3...........*[bha] ṭṭārikā mahādēvī Śrī Yaśo [mat] yā*..............
L. 4. ......*Māhēśvaraḥ Maheśvara iva sarvva sat*
L. 5. ......*(ma)hārājādhirāja Śrī Harshaḥ.*

Too fragmentary to be translated.

(23) Seal (No. 451). Inscription reads :—

L. 1. ......*Śr(ī)-Prabhākara-(varddhanaḥ)*, etc., etc. Too fragmentary to be translated.

Nos. 21 to 23, though in a very fragmentary condition give four important names, *viz.*, Prabhākara-varddhana and his queen Yaśomati, the parents of Rājya-varddhana and Harsha-varddhana, who succeeded their father in the years 605 and 606 A.D., respectively.

Bronze objects.

(1) A bell shaped object with shaft, 4 ft. 1 in. in height, with a diameter at the base of 1 ft. The shaft is crowned by a recumbent elephant surmounted by

a maned lion in the round (*cf.*, Gond emblem on Gond monuments in the Central Provinces). Over the head of the latter and threaded on to a square stick are two thick discs crowned by a small *āmalaka* (No. 314; photo. Neg. No. 1427).

(2) Foot of a life-size figure, 8¼ ins. in length. Hollow in the core (No. 337).

(3) Hand of a life-size figure, 6¼ ins. in length. Hollow in the core (No. 343).

(Nos. 2 and 3 are rivetted with cross nails for attachment.)

Copper objects.

(1) A seated image of Tārā (7½ ins. in height) represented by the Chinese female divinity "Sung-tree" with a child seated on the left leg. The right leg is pendant, the foot resting on a lotus. Two lions support the throne (Siṁhanāda). The background is decorated with conventional lions mounted on elephants. The pedestal bears the auspicious representation of a *kalaśa* (No. 372).

(2) A seated figure of a twelve-armed Tārā (height 9 ins.) with the legs inter-locked, on a lion throne. The image perhaps represents the *śakti* of Avalokiteśvara, as it holds the flask and *padma*, and *stūpas* appear about its shoulders. The other hands grasp the sword, *akshamālā* and *pāśa*. (Halo broken.)

(3) A figure of an Avalokiteśvara standing in the *Vara-mudrā* attitude with a lotus in the left hand. Height 9½ ins. (No. 437).

(4) A Śyāma Tārā standing, in the *vara-mudrā*. Height 8¾ ins. (No. 438).

(5) A Dhyānī Bodhisattva. Height 5 ins. (No. 441).

(6) A standing figure of Balarāma with the *gadā*, *chakra*, *padma*, and *hala* or ploughshare in his hands; a female divinity appears on either side, and a monk on the pedestal. Height 13 ins. (No. 442).

(7) Small standing figure of Vishṇu wearing high crown, and holding the *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, *gadā* and *padma* in its hands. Height 4½ ins. (No. 443).

(8) A standing image of Śiva with *triśūla*, lower portion broken (No. 426).

Monastery IA.

Stone objects.

(1) Standing figure of Tārā with lotus in left hand and the right held in *Vara-mudrā*; *stūpa* overhead. Buddhist Creed inscribed at back. Height 4⅛ ins. (No. 7).

(2) *Siṁhanādā* Tārā seated, with her left leg pendant instead of the right as usual. Pose as in No. 1; lions supporting the lotus throne; and flying

figures about the arch under which the figure is seated. Height 4 ins. (No. 304).

(3) Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of learning, seated on throne, in the *Vyākhyāna* or preaching pose. The book of knowledge rests on a lotus issuing from under the left arm. Height 3¼ ins. (No. 11).

(4) Relief depicting the eight principal events in the life of the Buddha; fine workmanship. Height 6 ins.

(5) Furious figure of Yamāntaka standing on reclining buffalo. The figure has six faces, and six arms. The right hands hold the sword, the thunderbolt and the mace; and

FIG. 57.—Stone tablet portraying scenes from the life of Buddha. Item 4.

FIG. 58.—Stone image of Yamāntaka. Item 5.

the left ones, the noose, a human head, and the blood-filled cup. He wears a snake garland, a long *muṇḍamālā* reaching to the feet; and snakes appear about the ankles. There is a miniature figure of Akshobhya over his head flanked by skulls, all of which are shaded by snake-hoods. The bristling beard, the straightly drawn out moustaches, and the burning eyes, the wrinkled forehead, and the fiery turn of his expression bring out in prominent relief the terrific form of the god of death. The back of the aureole is inscribed with the creed, and the pedestal with the name of the donor, the lay worshipper *Nāga*, (*Dedharmo-yaṁ param-opāsaka Śrī Nāgasya*). 9th-10th century A.D. Height 7¾ ins. (No. 113).

(6) Standing figure of Avalokiteśvara in *Vara-mudrā* with the Dhyānī Buddha, Amitābha, on the forehead, and lotus in the left hand. Height 10½ ins. (No. 2).

Miscellaneous Metal objects.

(1) Metal image of Buddha, standing on lotus in the *Abhaya* pose. Hair in schematic curls; *ūrṇa and ushnīsha.* Height 11 ins. (No. 532).

FIG. 59.—Metal image of standing Buddha.

(2) Brass (?) figure of squatting Buddha, lemon (?) in right hand, halo broken. Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins. (No. 209).

(3) Copper Vajrasattva (?) holding the *vajra* in the right hand. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. No. (157A).

(4) Metal Indrāṇī (?) standing on elephant. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (No. 158).

Numerous country-made iron locks were also found during the course of excavation, scattered over the monastery—generally in the verandah in front of the rooms; and it would seem that they were used by the monks for locking up their cells.

FIG. 60.—Metal image of standing Indrānī.

In 1916 a large hoard of 603 seals or tablets in an unbroken condition was found in front of the quadrangle to which Cunningham gave the reference number 4 in his account of the site, and which according to him is Bālāditya's monastery. These vary in size from tiny buttons to fairly large plaques, but all apparently bear the Buddhist creed in close writing of mediæval date, the chief difference being in their decoration, some depicting miniature *stūpas*, etc., others being quite plain.

FIG. 61.—Nālandā clay seal.

MAIN *Stūpa* (SITE NO. 3).

Among the more important antiquities discovered at the Main *Stūpa* (site No. 3) Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī makes special mention of three Buddhist images whose subjects have not yet been identified with certainty. "One of them is a male figure, crowned, sitting under a seven-hooded serpent, holding rosary in the right hand and goblet (? flask) in the left. Apparently it represents some deified human being. That it is neither Gautama Buddha whom we sometimes find represented seated with the serpent Muchalinda, the *Nāga* king, protecting his body, nor Pārśvanāth, nor Supārśvanātha Jina, whose images are likewise characterised by the emblem of a snake with seven or five hoods,

is certain. The rosary and the *Nāga* would seem to indicate that the figure might stand for Nāgārjuna—especially the snake, which suggests the *Nāga* who protected him or revealed to him the holy text in the dragon palace under the sea. We know that in his representations he has an aureole which is marked by seven snakes, and that the snakes gave him the Prājñāpāramita. But this is only a conjecture which I have thrown for consideration. The other image is that of a goddess with several young children, probably Buddhas, sitting around. I think it represents Koṭiśrī or Sapta-Koṭi-Buddha-Mātṛi Chuntī, the mother of seventy-thousand Buddhas, one of the several forms of the god or goddess of mercy or Avalokiteśvara, who is worshipped both as a male and a female divinity. The third image excavated here represents a subject whose identity is also not yet certain. It is a male figure sitting in the *vilāsa* posture holding a *vajra* in the right hand and a lotus in the left hand. A *stūpa* is engraved over his head, at the side of which a small figure, probably representing Akshobhya, is carved. I think the divinity represented is Vajrasattva."

Fig. 62.—Unidentified image (? Nāgārjuna.)

The statue of (?) Nāgārjuna bears the following inscription on the pedestal:—

L. 1. *De-dharmmo-yaṁ Bhaṭṭa-Māṇikyasya Yad-atra puṇyaṁ tad-bhavatu Mātā-pitṛi-pramukha.*

L. 2. *Samasta-v(b)andhu-varga-puras-sarasya sarva-satvānān-cha.*

"This is the felicitous gift of Bhaṭṭa Māṇikya. Whatever merit there be in it, let that accrue to all sentient beings headed by all his relatives preceded by his father and mother."

Fig. 63.—Colossal stone Bodhisattva. (Avalokiteśvara).

At the north-east corner of the main *stupa* and placed in a small detached shrine, is the image of a standing Avalokiteśvara, which, except for a little injury to the nose and one ear, is perfectly preserved. It is inscribed with the creed at the back in early mediæval characters. In addition to the above objects, three valuable fragments of the stone basement of a *stūpa* decorated with three rows of small seated Buddhas and inscribed at the bottom with a long and well-incised metrical inscription referring to one Śrīdhara Gupta as an old man,

were recovered from the east and west sides of the main *stūpa*. These three pieces unfortunately do not complete the whole, so the inscription cannot be fully read.

(*g*) Numerous terra-cotta seals, and a large copper plate of Devapāladeva, the third king of the Pāla Dynasty, have been unearthed during the course of excavations extending from 1916 onwards. These and the more important inscriptions have already been noticed in the body of these notes.

(*h*) The remains that have been excavated so far are well preserved, their structural needs having received attention; and the mounds still to be opened up give promise from their height and position above the general level that the portions of the structures they contain may be recovered relatively intact.

(*j*) A. G. I., 468-71; C. S. R., I, 28-36; Dist. Gazet. Patna, 183-185; L. A. M. B., 242-256; Martin's Eastern India, I, 95-96; Smith's Early History 312-13, 333, 369; A.S.R.E.C., 1902, 17-18; 1915-16, 33-38; 1919-20, 34-39; 1920-21, 33-41; J. B. O. R. S., V, 302-304; Watter's Yuan Chwang, II, 165-71; (*k*) 1383 to 1441, 1640 to 1690, 1874 to 1885, 1978 to 2019, 2033, 2150 to 2161, 2357 to 2411.

Patna City.

No. 31.—(*a*) Agam Kuāñ or the "Unfathomable Well."

(*b*) South-west of the Gulzārbāgh Railway Station, and on the road to Pāñch Pahāṛī; (*c*) Maulvī Akbar 'Alī Khān *alias* Chhote Nawāb, and others; (*d*) II b; (*e*) Uncertain.

(*f*) The Agam Kuāñ is a large circular well (20 ft. 2 ins. in diameter) the walls of which are carried up about 10 feet above the ground level and are pierced by 8 arched windows, 4 ft. 3 ins. by 5 ft. 2 ins. at intervals of some 7 feet. Including the width of the walls, the diameter is 29 ft. 2 ins. as measured through the arches, and 30 ft. 4 ins. at the top. A shallow cornice moulding encircles the well externally, which is otherwise plain. Over the windows on the east, west and north sides narrow platforms have been corbelled out into the interior to form straight sides; and two square holes left in the brickwork beneath the platforms originally accommodated a wooden framework, now no longer existing, by means of which water was drawn up in a *charsa* over a pulley.

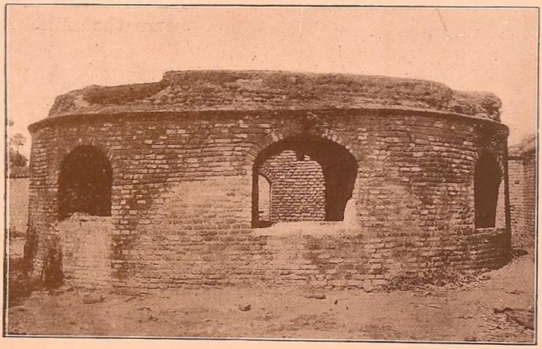

Fig. 64.—Agam Kuāñ, Patna City.

The plastered top of the walls drains off to the west and north, and a small plastered tubular drain, still preserved on the north side, apparently served to carry off water from the top. The bricks of which the well is built vary in size. In his *Pātaliputra*, Mr. M. Ghosh says, "It has been found that

the brickwork ring and the sides of the well end at a depth of 44 feet from the ground level, and then begins a wooden ring which goes to a further depth of 17 ft. 2 ins. or 61 ft. 2 ins. from the ground level. The wooden ring consists of planks 2 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ins. Some of the objects excavated from this well are in the Patna Museum and one or two in the Oriental Library." Round the well originally was a circumambulatory passage about 3 feet wide paved with bricks, traces of which still exist on the north-west side, where the thickness of the enclosing wall is 5 ft. 1 in. The present upper structure of the well and the arched windows it contains are patently of Muhammadan construction.

Yuan Chwang, it is believed, identified this well with Aśoka's Hell, which is said to have contained fiery cauldrons for torturing hapless prisoners. According to this account, Aśoka was converted to Buddhism through witnessing the escape unscathed of a Buddhist monk who had been hurled into this furnace and was found afterwards miraculously seated on a lotus flower. The same legend (relating to torture) has been mentioned by Col. Waddell in connexion with a Jain priest of the adjoining temple of Śītalā Dēvī. It is said that the priest, named Sudarsana, was flung into a furnace in the neighbourhood by order of the King of Pāṭaliputra; and that he too remained unscathed, and was found seated on a lotus throne; whereupon the king ordered his release, patronised him, and settled him in the immediate vicinity. The present popular legend also associates the well with both heat and hell. Its water is greatly venerated but never drunk; and it is said to be efficacious as a cure for eye-troubles and skin-affections. The four hot-weather months beginning with March, when the hot winds set in, comprise the period of special worship at the well. On the 8th day of each month during this time large numbers of Hindu women and children gather at the spot and make offerings of money and flowers, which they throw into the well. Sweetmeats and fruits are laid at the windows mentioned above, to be removed by the *pujārīs*; and the worshippers pray for protection against the disfiguring fever of small-pox. Standing, as it does, in front of the temple of Śītalā, goddess of small-pox, the well has also come to be associated with this disease. The largest fair here is the Agri Mela, held on the 8th day of the month of *Ashādha* (May-June), when over a lakh of people attend and sacrifice goats. There is a modern tradition that a heavy piece of wood which was lost in the ocean was recovered by a sage in this well; the legend evidently associating the well with Pātāla, or hell, in this instance. The antiquity of the original structure seems to be undoubted, but the tradition may be questioned which asserts that as far back as 700 years ago it was the custom among newly married Muhammadan officials to go to this well and throw in a gold or silver coin,[1] according to their means.

[1] This tradition is a modern fabrication; Patna was a place of no importance for Muhammadans in the 13th century A.D. There is, however, a custom among the local thieves of throwing some metal object in the well after a successful robbery. The practice is based on the belief that their secret also becomes 'unfathomable' like the well.

According to Col. Waddell, the Agam Kuāñ "seems to be a vestige of Aśoka's hell, and its position here, between the palace and the old city, and adjoining the village Tulsī Manḍī, which name implies the market place of the king, is in keeping with the possibility that here was the site of the Royal slaughter-house or out-kitchen which, as Dr. Kern suggests, was in after-days transformed by the life-cherishing Buddhist monks into a hell where Aśoka wantonly condemned innocent lives to horrible death."

Some of the objects recovered from the Agam Kuāñ were kept in the Public Oriental Library of Maulvī Khudā Bakhsh Khān at Patna. They have now been transferred to the local Museum.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet. Patna, 60-61 and 64; A. S. R. E. C. (1912-13), 39; Pataliputra, by M. Ghosh, 46; (*k*) 2355, 1028, 2356.

Patna City.

No. 32.—(*a*) Chhoṭī Pahāṛī.

(*b*) About half a mile to south-west of Gulzār Bāgh Railway Station; (*c*) Bābū Raghunandan Prasād and others of the place, and Gahanu Bhat as a *mujāwir* of a Muhammadan saint's grave, of which there are few traces now; (*d*) III; (*e*) Reign of Aśoka.

(*f*) Chhoṭī Pahāṛī is one of the sites which were probably included in what is known as the Pāñch Pahāṛī. It is a low mound spreading to some distance, and was identified by Col. Waddell with the hermitage hill of the famous Buddhist saint, Upagupta, who is reputed to have converted Aśoka to Buddhism. It is doubtful if the mound would repay further digging.

Mr. P. C. Mukerji, it may be mentioned, identified the Chhoṭī Pahāṛī mound as the site of the *stūpa* of the 'Past Four Buddhas'; but his views have not been generally accepted.

(*g*) None. (*h*) According to the Gazetteer a portion of the mound was once excavated and it yielded the ruins of a Buddhist *stūpa*. These, however, have entirely disappeared now, and only a few pits are to be seen here and there. The mound is partly overgrown with palm and *bel* trees.

(*j*) Dist. Gazet., Patna 205-6; A.S.R., E.C. (1915-16), 30-31; C.S.R., XI, 157 L.A.M.B., 232; Waddell's Pataliputra, 15; Mukerji's Report, 15. (*k*) *nil*.

No. 33.—(*a*) Pāñch Pahāṛī (generally known as the Baṛī Pahāṛī.)

(*b*) The Pāñch Pahāṛī is included in village Zakariyāpur or more properly Nirandanpur Kharauniā (in the Revenue books Zakiriyapur or Nirandapur) the first name being that of a village a little to the north; (*c*) (1) The Nāwābs of Guzrī (2) Gahanu Bhaṭ, mujāwir of Chhoṭī Pahāṛī and others; (*d*) III; (*e*) Reign of Aśoka.

(*f*) The term Pāñch Pahāṛī is applied to five mounds or hills which Col. Waddell identified with the five *stūpas* built by Aśoka. It now comprises the Chhoṭī and Baṛī Pahāṛīs and perhaps some other smaller mounds in the vicinity. The ruins of these mounds run north and south some 3,000 feet in length but not more than 600 feet in width. Breaking abruptly, as they do,

the level monotony of the plains, these mounds are attributed by the people to the agency of spirits or genii of ancient times. "A *Siddha* or spirit is said to have been carrying a hill through the air for the purpose of forming an embankment across the Ganges; but the morning broke just as he reached the present site, Pāñch Pahāṛī, and as spirits cannot work by day, he was obliged to drop the hill which broke into five pieces, just as they are seen now."[1] Even as late as the time of Akbar, the court historian in a reference to the Emperor's ascent of this mound speaks of it as "a collection of 5 domes."[2] On examining the site in 1915, however, Dr. Spooner was unable to trace the five mounds comprising the Pāñch Pahāṛī. The Baṛī Pahāṛī mound, which is the largest and highest of all the mounds in the vicinity, being 150 feet across and 50 feet high, and stands on two well-defined terraces was then selected for excavation. A deep bifurcating trench started from the east end of the site brought to light short stretches of walls and pavements, a few fragments of Chunār stone with the characteristic Mauryan polish, and remnants of two brick *stūpas*. All these were found "at an unexpectedly high level and the *stūpas* were apparently built on a high plinth or stylobate of which the core was formed of *kachcha* brickwork resembling a subsoil deposit." One of the *stūpas* was found towards

FIG. 65.—Baṛī Pahāṛī under excavation, Pāñch Pahāṛī, Patna City.

[1] C.S.R., XI, 157.

[2] This was in 983 A.H. = 1575 A.D., when Akbar came with a large army to Patna in order to quell the rebellion of Dā'ūd Khān Karārānī. "The Emperor went out upon an elephant to reconnoitre the fort and the environs of the city, and ascended the Pāñch Pahāṛī, which is opposite the fort. This Pānch Pahāṛī or "five domes," is a collection of old domes (*gumbaz*), which the infidels built in old times with hard bricks placed in layers. The Afghāns who were on the walls and the bastions of the fortress saw the emperor and his suite as he was making his survey, and in their despair and recklessness fired some guns at the Pāñch Pahāṛī, but they did no injury to anyone." (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*).

Badāyūnī, the other court historian of Akbar, records that the Emperor came to Patna by boat and that he put up at the house of Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, which was situated at Pāñch Pahāṛī, 5 or 6 miles (*do sih karoh*) from Patna. From this it would appear that the Pāñch Pahāṛī ought to be located west of the fort of Patna (since Akbar came from the west) or conversely that the fort of Patna was then situated some five miles to east of the Pāñch Pahāṛī. This fort was probably that which was built by Sher Shāh. The Pāñch Pahāṛī or Baṛī Pahāṛī commands an uninterrupted view of the country around, especially towards the fort, where most of the intervening land up to its walls is low-lying and generally inundated, while being almost devoid of trees; but its distance from the south-west angle of the present fortifications does not exceed $1\frac{3}{8}$ miles. It is of course possible that Sher Shāh's original fort lay further to the east, and that its material may have been utilized in the construction of the present circumvallations; but it is much more probable that Badāyūnī's estimate of the distance was exaggerated, and that the present fort is substantially identical with that of Sher Shāh.

the outer edge of the mound on its eastern side; the other was farther into the mound to south-west of the first. "From this it appears," says Dr. Spooner, "that the great mound of Baṛī Pahāṛī does not conceal one mighty *stūpa* as had been supposed, but that it buried rather a group of *stūpas*. The position of the two which can be located suggests that possibly all five of the *stūpas* which Aśoka built are in this single mound.... But obviously no certainty can be attained on such a point until extensive excavations can be made in the various old sites of ancient Pāṭaliputra."

In one of the two *stūpas* mentioned above, Dr. Spooner found the relic-chamber, which, however, did not yield anything; in the case of the other, circumstances did not permit of the trenches being made wide and deep enough to facilitate the search for the relic-chamber. The diameter of the first *stūpa* was estimated by Dr. Spooner to be about 80 feet.

Apart from the few pieces of Mauryan stone already mentioned and a few coins etc., the only thing of interest found by Dr. Spooner was a small and very early type of *triratna* symbol in (?) chalcedony discovered deep down in the artificial filling of the plinth beneath the centre of one of the *stūpas*. Dr. Spooner thinks that by continuing the trench outward toward the fields it may be possible to find the edge of the artificial platform, which, as the stone fragments of Mauryan polish indicate, might have been adorned with sculptured friezes. It may be mentioned in passing that the late Bābū P. C. Mukerji proposed to identify the five *stūpas* of Aśoka with the mounds at Jogīpura and in the Lashkarī Bībī Garden at Bahādurpūr.

(*g*) None. (*h*) The mound is very thickly overgrown with jungle and thorny shrubs. No traces of walls or bricks anywhere in the trenches dug by Dr. Spooner are now visible.

(*j*) Dist. Gazet., Patna 25, 205-06; C.S.R., XI, 157-163 and pl. XLI; A.S.R.E.C., (1915-16), 30-33; L.A.M.B., 232; Waddell's Pataliputra, 16. (*k*) 1290-1300.

Patna (Pāṭaliputra).

No. 34.—(*a*) Bulandī Bāg͟h.

(*b*) North-west of Kumrāhar and to north of the East Indian Railway line; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II *a*; (*e*) Mauryan.

(*f*) The Bulandī Bāg͟h, a high-lying mango grove situated north-west of Kumrāhar village, is the site whence Col. Waddell in 1903 recovered the valuable and interesting quasi-Ionian capital now preserved in the Patna Museum. The relic, which belongs to the Śuṅga period, was found at a depth of 12 feet below the surface along with some copper and bronze coins by the side of a thick ancient wall. Promising as the site was, its exploration could not be resumed until 1915, when a liberal grant for this purpose was generously made by the late Sir Ratan Tātā.

The excavation of the site was then taken up by Dr. Spooner of the Archæological Department, and a long trench was carried north and south

through the centre of the Bāg͟h for a distance of some 900 feet. About 150 feet north of the southern end of the Bāg͟h a massive beam of wood was disclosed lying across the trench (*i.e.*, east to west) at a very steep angle. Some 9 or 10 feet north of this and lying parallel to it, was found another slanting beam, the two being joined together by 3 cross or tie beams at irregular intervals. The lower ends of the slanting beams descended to a depth of at least 24 feet below the surface, while their upper ends were only 10 feet or so below it.

The slanting timbers measured about one foot square, and in line with them were found two walls of massive wooden uprights (1 ft. 3 ins. by 1 ft. 10 ins.) running eastwards and parallel to each other for a distance of some 24 feet. These uprights formed apparently the north and south walls of a structure of which the slanting timbers noted above formed the west end. The uprights were spaced 5 inches apart and the width of the structure was 12 ft. 4 ins. internally and 15 ft. externally. Between the north and south walls, at a depth of about 22 feet below the surface, Dr. Spooner came upon the flooring of this structure, which was composed of a series of long squared timbers laid north and south with their ends fitted into sockets in the upright timbers of the walls. These last were found to go 5 feet further down in the soil, that is, to a total depth of nearly 27 feet, where they stand on a bed of *Kankar* foundations. While the walls disclosed did not extend beyond a length of 24 feet, the floor was found to continue for some 350 feet eastward; and as the ends of the timbers composing it were trimmed for insertion into the sockets of the upright timbers throughout, it was obvious that the walls had also extended originally to the east as far as the trimmed timbers of the floor. In a pit dug at a distance of some 350 feet to east of the slanting structure mentioned above was discovered a series of upright timbers running north and south. Here, probably, the walls took a turn to north.

In May 1923 the excavation of Bulandī Bāg͟h was resumed by Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator of the Patna Museum, and the wooden structure discovered by Dr. Spooner was followed and cleared for a length of some 123 feet. The floor timbers were found laid like railway sleepers almost parallel to each other and at distances varying from 1 ft. 2 ins. to 1 ft. 9 ins. apart. They are about 10 inches square and 12 to 13 feet long including the projecting tenons at their ends.

FIG. 66.—Floor timbers of a wooden structure exposed during excavations, Bulandī Bāg͟h, Patna.

The upright pillars near the west end of the structure are about 2 feet by 1 foot 3 inches in section. At present they rise to about 9 feet above the lower floor timbers, and are faced on the outside with wooden planks fixed to the uprights with wooden pegs. In the centre of the walled structure and running across the floor sleepers is a single long plank of wood, which probably formed the surface of the actual flooring.

The great depth to which these timbers descend would seem to indicate that the wooden structure is assignable to the Mauryan period, and its nature suggests that it is conceivably identifiable with the "massive timber palisades" described by Megasthenes as enclosing Chandragupta's city of Pāṭaliputra.

Mr. Ghosh also dug some trial pits to east of the wooden structure, beyond the last pit sunk on that side by Dr. Spooner. He could not, however, find any traces of the wooden or other structures there, though he descended to a depth of 25 feet where virgin soil of a reddish colour was reached.

North of the wooden structure Mr. Ghosh excavated a space of about 150 feet by 50 feet, to a depth of 14 to 18 feet, and while he did not meet with any buildings here, a large number of minor antiquities were recovered.

Unlike Kumrāhar and other sites at Patna, the Bulandī Bāgh has proved exceptionally rich in minor antiquities, which have been recovered in a remarkably well-preserved condition. Some of them were found quite near the surface, but the majority were discovered between 7 and 14 feet below the present ground level, a few coming from the earlier strata.

The following brief list will give an idea of the nature of the finds from the Bulandī Bāgh :—

(1) Gold signet ring, with double-headed *makara* device (Mauryan).

(2) Some 400 coins of the "early rectangular cast" type (closely akin in some respects to the old punch-marked coins), which are not common anywhere in India except at Old Rājgīr, where they are popularly assigned to Jarāsandha.

(3) Two large ear-buttons of white copper.

(4) A long sword.

(5) A number of knives in excellent condition.

(6) Some metal arrow-heads.

(7) Metal hair ornaments of curious type.

(8) A few metal implements.

(9) A piece of (?) cast iron found 18 feet below surface. [This is probably modern. M. H. K.]

(10) Numerous pieces of ancient pottery embossed with primitive symbols by means of an incuse.

FIG. 67.—Elaborate doll from Bulandī Bāgh excavations (Item 13, i.)

(11) Fragments of highly glazed pottery (black and silver glaze).

(12) A quaint round brazier or other vessel for fire, pierced around the top with a series of round holes.

(13) A large and valuable collection of early terracottas including among others (i) an exceptionally elaborate doll wearing an extraordinary costume with a sort of apron and with voluminous coiffure; (ii) turbaned head of an infant, smiling—an excellent piece of ancient modelling; (iii) two or three small terracotta heads wearing a curious head-dress, folded square and draped round the cheeks, giving the whole a strikingly Egyptian appearance.

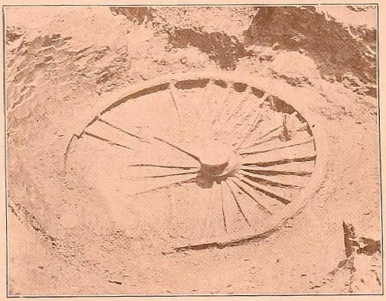

FIG. 68.—Ancient chariot-wheel from Bulandī Bāgh excavations. (Item 14.)

(14) A complete wooden chariot-wheel; perhaps the most interesting of all the finds from Bulandī Bāgh. The iron band round the hub was still in its place.

(15) Four wooden sandals.

(16) Scraps of basket-work.

(17) Fragments of fine light-blue glass.

(18) A gem of beautiful light-blue glass (lens shaped).

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Patna, 206; Waddell's Pataliputra, 13-14; A.S.R. E.C., (1914-15), 48-49, and (1915-16), 27-30. (*k*) 1071-2, 1269-89, 1691, 1866-72, 2509-10.

Kumrāhar (Pāṭaliputra).

No. 35.—(*a*) "Site of the Mauryan Palace."

(*b*) In a small tract of land between the Kālū tank and Chaman Talāo, and to west of the village of Kumrāhar; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II*a*; (*e*) 3rd century B. C.

(*f*) Kumrāhar is a modern village to south of the present city of Patna. It lies close to the main road, which follows the East Indian Railway track on the south. The name is, however, popularly applied to a wide stretch of country to the immediate south of this road and extending a considerable distance to the west of the actual village. Much of this land is raised above the general level. Close to the village, to west, on the southern edge of the road is an old tank known as the Kālū and some hundred yards to the south is another tank called the Chaman *talāo*. The tanks are shallow with ill-defined edges, and become dry in the cold season; but they serve to mark off a conspicuously higher tract of land contained between them, forming roughly a square of about 250 to 300 feet, which marks the site of a Mauryan Palace. A cluster of huts bounds this area on the south-east, and an orchard on the west; and in the centre of the tract stands a modern brick-built Muhammadan tomb which, with the jungle around it, divides the tract into two plots of land; the northern extending from the tomb to the Kālū tank, and the southern from behind the tomb to the Chaman *talāo*.

In 1902-03, Colonel Waddell dug several pits in the northern half of the site and recovered some fragments of polished sandstone of Mauryan workmanship. These he proposed to identify as fragments of the Nili Column mentioned by Yuan Chwang as having been erected by Aśoka in the middle of his palace enclosure, and inscribed with a history of the palace city. In deciding to re-open the exploration of the Kumrāhar site, Dr. Spooner was not without hopes that Col. Waddell's seemingly reasonable theory might prove to be correct, and that future excavation might result in the recovery of the valuable Nili Column and of a definite clue to the palace of Aśoka.

Dr. Spooner began his excavations early in January 1913, devoting most of his attention (in the first season) to the northern half of the site. Close to the modern surface of the earth he recovered a maze of ruined brick walls of the late Gupta period extending over the entire area. These went down to 7 feet below the surface; and immediately underneath them was found a belt or layer of black ash or charcoal, about one foot in thickness, which also extended over the whole of the northern area. Among these ashes were found, scattered all over the locality, numerous bits of polished stone, all showing curved surfaces and a vertical cleavage; and on the discovery that three heaps of these stone fragments lay in one line, each 15 feet apart from centre to centre, distances were marked out on all sides, when similar heaps were disclosed at equivalent intervals. From these indications it was concluded that the remains were those of a pillared hall. Digging beneath certain selected heaps down to 30 feet and more failed to reveal the existence of any bases or pedestals of pillars, which might be expected to have remained *in situ*. But at a depth of 16 feet a thin layer of bluish clay was met with containing fragments of wood, etc., mixed up in it. This was thought to mark the level of a large wooden platform. Below the heaps of polished stone fragments were invariably found ash circles, or ash funnels, which descended to a depth of 8 or 9 feet till they reached the level of the probable wooden platform indicated by the thin layer of blue clay mentioned above. Between the upper ash stratum and the blue clay was a solid layer of hard, dark, silt-like earth mixed with a small quantity of straw (*bhūsa*). Outwardly it resembled the virgin soil or riverine deposit, but the *bhūsa* made it quite clear that it was in reality a filling of sun-dried bricks, crushed and pounded. This filling was done in order to raise the floor level of the hall

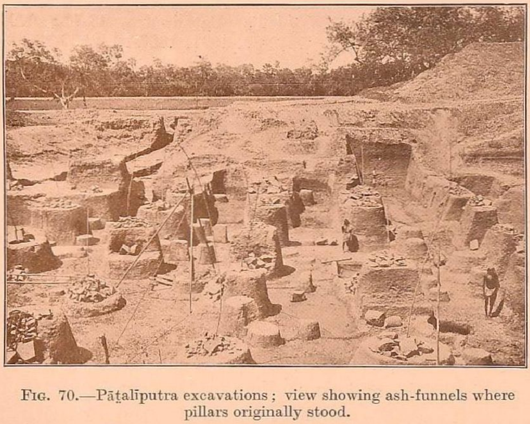

FIG. 70.—Pāṭalīputra excavations; view showing ash-funnels where pillars originally stood.

and thus give it a more commanding appearance. No traces of human habitation were found between the upper ash stratum and the lower layer of blue clay, except in the ash-funnels, and these yielded fragments of polished stone pillars, brick-bats and some minor antiquities.[1] From the presence of these fragments in the ash-funnels, and from the fact that piles of polished stone fragments were located at regular distances of 15 feet from each other on all sides, and again, that below each pile of stone fragments were invariably found ash-cylinders, Dr. Spooner came to the conclusion that the stone pillars which supported the Mauryan hall had all, with a single exception, sunk to a depth which effectively precluded their ever being brought to light again. Boring down through the ash-funnels to a depth of 100 feet failed to disclose traces of any pillars; and in support of his sinkage theory Dr. Spooner pointed out the extremely soft nature of the alluvium, as testified to by the boring processes; 42 feet in a day could be probed here at the Kumrāhar site as against 14 feet only in the ordinary soil of the Gaya and Patna Districts.

According to Dr. Spooner, the sinkage had commenced long before the building was totally destroyed by a conflagration which occurred in the 4th or 5th century A.D. From the vertical cleavage of the stone fragments he concluded that they must have been split by fire.

Only one pillar was discovered of which more than half the original length remained; and this Dr. Spooner regarded as the exception to the rule of sinkage at Patna and as further evidence in support of his hypothesis. The upper ash-stratum was considered to have been caused by the burning of the wooden floor and superstructure, the lower layer of blue clay by the decay of the wooden platform on which the stylobate was erected. The so-called Gupta walls found near the surface and descending to a depth of 7 feet below it were probably built in about the 8th century A.D.; and it appears that the débris which must have collected over the ash-stratum during the thousand years that elapsed between the burning of the palace and the erection of the upper walls was cleared away by the builders of these walls when their founda-

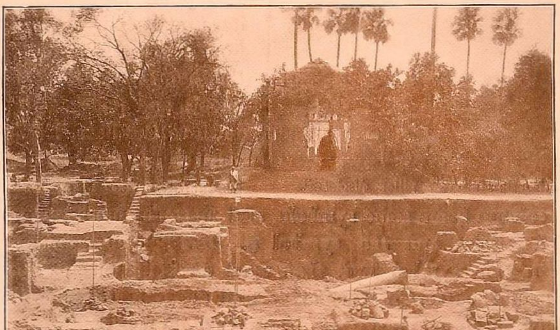

FIG. 69.—Pāṭaliputra excavations; view from N. showing position of the only existing pillar.

[1] The stone fragments were found in the ash-funnels at varying depths—but they all lay "circle-wise following the outline of the sinking columns." The brick-bats had fallen from the walls afterwards constructed over the ash-stratum.

tions were laid on the ashes. The tops of the stone pillars were probably at that time concealed a few inches below the ashes; but as the pillars sank, perhaps at a rate of 1 foot or so in 10 years, the walls began to sag downward into the cavities left by the sinking columns, and as this was considered an unlucky omen, the place was soon deserted—never to be re-inhabited again. In the eastern portion of the site, just about the Gupta level, Dr. Spooner discovered a rough pavement consisting of polished stone fragments; and close to it were found a few fragments of a broken pillar base. As all the other fragments belonged to the tops of the pillars, Dr. Spooner inferred that the Gupta builders must have dug out one of the sinking columns, and finding no use for it, they broke it into numerous fragments for use in the pavement.

The solitary pillar recovered in the excavations was found lying in a recumbent position. Its upper end was some 3 feet higher than the lower, which was some 2 feet above the wooden plinth of the stylobate, and which therefore, says Dr. Spooner, must have rested on a pedestal some 40 inches high. No pedestal however could be found. The pillar is broken at its upper end, but the lower portion is entire for a length of 14 ft. 3 ins. It is smooth and polished right down to the base, leaving only one inch rough for insertion into the socket hole. The bottom of the column bears some symbols and mason's marks, among which are 3 rows of triple circles and the symbol ⳩. Dr. Spooner points out that the difference between this symbol and that used at Behistun in Persia lies only in the roundness of the loop in the latter, and suggests that Persians or Medes may possibly have been employed at Kumrāhar. Some 5 feet above the base of the pillar are 4 square bosses in relief projecting slightly from the shaft. They are not equidistant from each other; but if the pedestal of 40 ins. is included they would have been level with the upper surface of the *kachcha* stylobate and thus may possibly have marked the floor level of the pillared hall. Altogether 8 rows of pillars (or more precisely, piles of stone fragments indicative of them) were found. Six of these rows had ten pillars each, one had only seven, and the 8th only five pillars. In plan, says Dr. Spooner, the hall resembles the "Hall of a Hundred Columns" at Persepolis; and as the ash-funnels and stone fragments are spread over a large area, he conceived it probable that this hall contained originally 15 rows of pillars with 15 pillars in each row, set at distances of 15 feet from each other, centre to centre.

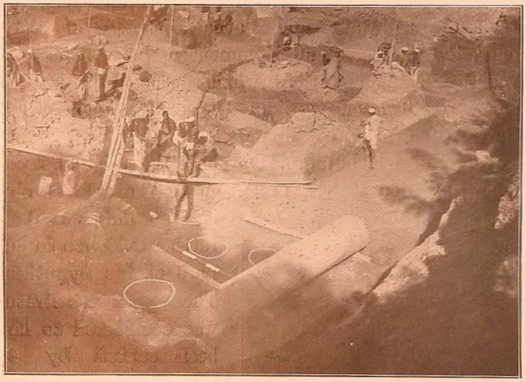

FIG. 71.—Pāṭaliputra excavations; Mauryan pillar disclosed.

In the square bays formed by these columns Dr. Spooner discovered (at a depth of 18 ft. below the surface) 158 subsidiary circles of dark silt, all of varying diameters and located in the bays without any system or order. There were 6 or 7 of them in each bay. They were not very deep, and one of them yielded a colossal stone head of archaic type. From this Dr. Spooner inferred that the subsidiary circles were caused by the sinking of sculptures on round pedestals which both decorated and supported the 1st, 2nd and 3rd storeys of the hall, the stone columns carrying the weight of the uppermost roof only. As a parallel, Dr. Spooner points to the *bas relief* of the curious structure which Fergusson calls *Tālār* and which is displayed on the portals of the Throne-room at Persepolis and on the sculptured façade of the tomb of Darius at Nakṣẖ-i-Rustam. In this relief numerous figures are shown supporting the upper storeys on their upraised arms. That this was the case here in Pāṭaliputra is suggested not only by the subsidiary circles and the colossal head from one of them, but also from a seal recovered from the site which bears the resemblance of a three-storeyed hall. Dr. Spooner further suggests that this and other similar halls of Pāṭaliputra and other places appear to be described as '*sabhās*' in the Mahābhārata, where they are attributed to supernatural agency in the person of the famous Asura Maya.[1] Of one particular *sabhā*, the Mahābhārata says that it was not upheld on columns but on countless radiant heavenly figures of unequalled splendour, "while of another we are told that '8,000 of the *Rākshasas* called *Kiṁkaras* do guard the hall and do uphold it.' The evidence is as clear as it is conclusive." Not a single sculpture was found up to a depth of 55 feet immediately below these subsidiary circles, and Dr. Spooner inferred from this that the sculptures had sunk not vertically but with a slight inclination to one side or the other.

Both the 225 columns of the great hall and the innumerable sculptures which have likewise disappeared, are believed to have stood originally on the top of the *kachcha* stylobate some 8 feet below the present surface of the ground.

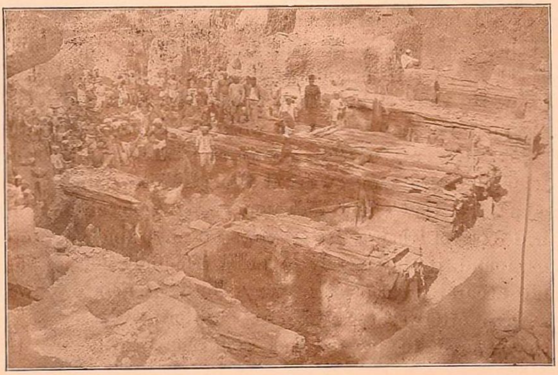

Fig. 72.—Pāṭaliputra excavations; wooden platforms, from S. W.

To the south of the area occupied by the pillared hall were brought to light, 15 feet below the surface, seven wooden platforms, each measuring 30 feet long, 5 ft. 4 ins. broad and 4 ft. 6 ins. thick between their bases and tops. They were incredibly well preserved, and appeared just as

[1] Dr. Spooner suggests that this name is another form of Ahura Mazda.

smooth as they could have been in Mauryan times. They were secured by upright wooden posts along the edges and also down the centre at intervals. These upright posts overtopped the platforms, and although they had suffered severe decay, their lower portions, which descended to a further depth of 5 ft. 7 ins. below the bases of the platforms, were in absolutely pristine condition where they were so embedded.

At either end of each of the outer logs forming the long sides of the platforms was a rectangular cutting which penetrated only one-half the depth of the log. These cuttings taken collectively formed vertical lines of square holes or grooves at both ends of each platform, and could only have served for the support of something inserted into them. Five of the platforms were situated in line with the established rows of pillars, but the remaining two were not in such alignment, while one of those two was close beside another of the seven. From these and other considerations Dr. Spooner concluded that the platforms must originally have stood free. Their tops were at about the same level as the floor of the pillared hall; but whether they were Mauryan or earlier could not be decided.

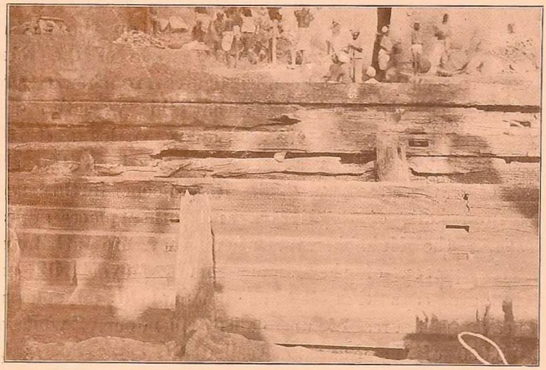

FIG. 73.—Pāṭaliputra excavations; one of the wooden platforms opened showing details of construction.

The west face of one of the platforms was found cut through vertically in a wide semicircle, and below this semicircle was a shallow, circular brick-lined pit, the bricks of which (11 ins. by 10 ins. by 2 ins.) were supported on a collar of wood some 3 feet below its own edge. It was not the base of a later well: for no remains of its upper portion were met with in the upper strata.

As to the purpose of this well and of the group of platforms, it is not possible to say anything definitely. Rumour credited the platforms with being treasure chests, and to make sure that they did not really conceal anything of value, Dr. Spooner opened one of them. No cavity of any kind appeared anywhere: the platform was found to be merely a solid accumulation of logs put together so neatly and accurately that the very lines of jointure were indistinguishable. The logs were afterwards re-laid in position with scrupulous care and the platform was restored to its original condition, so far as this was possible; and the platforms were then all completely re-buried.

The mound to south-east of the pillared hall (Site 2) was not examined. But in the mound to west of the hall (designated site No. 3 by Dr. Spooner) were brought to light "two fairly superficial layers of brick remains, one of

mediæval date apparently, the other possibly of Kushāna times"; while abundant indications were also met to prove that the monument which occupied this site originally was a Mauryan building, presumably contemporary with the pillared hall; for among the finds recovered at this site were some large and massive Mauryan bricks and numerous small fragments of polished stone, which must also be Mauryan. These exhibit regular flat surfaces and sharp right-angled corners. Most of them are plain, but a few are carved, one showing a vine scroll with a bunch of grapes, and another bearing the single Brāhmī letter *ma*.

In the eastern portion of the south edge of the terrace (*i.e.* site No. 4) were traced several stretches of what appeared to be the boundary wall. It was about 11 feet in thickness and had apparently been constructed on a foundation of wooden piles. The blue clay marking the decay of the wood went down to a great depth, and was successfully traced for long distances all round the site. Dr. Spooner considered it an established fact that there was a boundary to the palace area in ancient times.

In site No. 6 (to north of site No. 4) were discovered several walls of large-size bricks standing to a considerable height in places, and going down to a depth of 16 feet below the surface. They were of a later date and showed traces of sinkage here and there. The discovery, however, of numerous stone fragments of Mauryan date, and of a piece of a Mauryan door-jamb with beautifully polished effigies in high relief, left little doubt that these later walls stood on the site of some Mauryan building. To west of the excavated area of site 6 was found a single circular discoloration of columnar shape at about 8 feet below the surface. This discoloration, according to Dr. Spooner, was the result of the sinking of an isolated column, which might have borne an inscription. The boring tube was driven down the centre of this circle to a depth of 80 feet, and again to the same depth a little to the east; but no traces of the pillar could be found. It was therefore inferred that the pillar had not maintained its vertical position in the course of sinking.

As a result of the excavation at Kumrāhar Dr. Spooner was able to establish that the pillared hall of Pāṭaliputra was in close agreement with the Hall of a Hundred Columns at Persepolis, and that the mounds adjacent to it are in similar agreement with the corresponding structures of the Persepolitan complex; and again that all these buildings were almost certainly grouped, as at Persepolis, within a definite confined space of generally similar configuration. Some scholars do not accept the sinkage theory of Dr. Spooner.

Of the minor antiquities recovered during the excavation the following may be mentioned :—

From Site I.

(1) Fragment of sandstone polished on both sides and with one face decorated with very narrow flutings (Mauryan).

(2) Stone slab with a beautiful *tri-ratna* design resting on the Wheel of the Law (Śuṅga).

(3) Large Boddhisattva image of Mathurā school (Kushān).

(4) Small fragments of polished and unpolished railing stones recovered from the two tanks north and south of Kumrāhar.

(5) Some terracotta figures of early date (Mauryan or Śuṅga).

(6) Numerous clay sealings of which one or two are old, but the majority belong to the Gupta period.

FIG. 74.—Seal No. 2, from Kumrāhar. (Item 6.)

(7) Inscribed stone fragment (4½ ins. by 3 ins. by 2 ins.) possibly from the *tri-ratna* slab. The inscription consists of 3 letters in Brāhmī characters reading *va da 6*, the last being a numeral (Mauryan or Śuṅga).

(8) A matrix bearing a trio of very archaic symbols, found 18 feet below the surface. Probably 3rd century B.C.

(9) Seal with the legend *Gopālasa*= "(Seal of) Gopāla" (Śuṅga). The seal resembles in size and shape the type which became popular at a later age and which bears such a curious resemblance to the modern departmental seals of the Government of India.

(10) 69 coins ranging from the time of the early punch-marked and primitive cast coins to Shāh 'Ālam, but with a wide gap between the Guptas and the Muhammadans.

One of them is a large thin round copper coin in poor condition, which is believed to be a unique form of the coinage of Kośam in the 2nd century B.C. There are 3 coins of the Mitra Dynasty, the best specimen being one of Indra Mitra, and two only of the Gupta Dynasty, which are duplicates of a rare copper coin of Chandra Gupta II, Vikramāditya (375-413 A.D.).

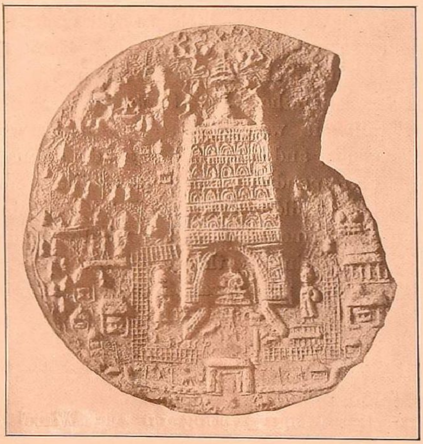

FIG. 75.—Pāṭaliputra excavations; Terracotta plaque of the Bodh-Gaya temple (?). (Item No. 6.)

From Site No. 3.

(Mound to west of the pillared hall.)

(1) A number of small fragments of greenish-blue tile work, (2) A copper wire once covered with gold leaf, (3) A copper leafof vine creeper, (4) A coiling tendril in bright billon wire, (5) A hoard of 52 Kushān copper coins, containing coins of Kadphises II, Kanishka, and Huvishka, (6) Oval terracotta plaque (5 ins. long) bearing, apparently, a picture of the Bodh-Gaya Temple in the centre, with figure

of Buddha seated inside. Flanking the temple are two standing figures within a railing. Around the edge is an elaborate tracery of trees interspersed with little bosses or *stūpas*.

From Site 4.

(1) Two gold coins of Kushān type; one of Vāsudeva and one of a later king.

(2) Several small fragments of a stone slab bearing curious chisel marks, which probably served as decoration. Dr. Spooner ascribes the decoration to the Cheros.

(3) Terracotta head from a plaque (Early).

From Site 6.

(1) Upper half of a terracotta plaque showing a female figure with elaborate head-dress. Floral ornament in the background is characteristic of Śuṅga and Maurya periods.

(2) Terracotta head with peculiar high flat-topped head-dress; 6 ft. 6 ins. below surface.

(3) Hollow terracotta mask.

(4) Head of a small Buddha figure in terracotta, probably from a plaque.

(5) Large crude female doll with 4 legs. The modelling is extremely rough.

FIG. 76.—Pāṭaliputra excavations; small Buddha head. (Item 4.)

(6) Oval piece (seal or token) of dark green glass with indistinct lettering of the oldest form of Brāhmī in high relief.

(7) Two discs of glass. One is oval, the other is roundish. Both show the same legend *Ashigrabi* in early Brāhmī. The letters are in relief.

(8) Heavy globular token of baked clay with faint impress of a signet. Four letters of legend, too faint to make out. Device clearly a form of the Persian fire-altar motif, like those found on certain seals recovered from Basāṛh in 1912.

(9) Four sealings showing the insignia of the monasteries at Sārnāth, namely, the two recumbent deer flanking the Wheel of the Law. One of them has a legend reading *brihad-vihāra-bhikshu-sanghāsya*, meaning "(seal) of the community of monks in the great monastery of....." But the best specimen has a clear legend reading *Sri-suapi-brihad-vihāra-bhikshu-sanghasya*. The name of the monastery is lost in both cases. The seals are assignable to the Gupta period, and were found less than 3 feet below the surface.

(10) Matrix of baked clay bearing the legend *Buddharakshitasa*="seal of Buddharakshita" in Brāhmī characters of the most primitive form. The letters are positive.

(11) Seal bearing the Buddhist creed in the lower half, and a complete *stūpa* containing a figure of Buddha and flanked by two Bodhisattvas above.

(12) Stone fragment bearing the legend *Chero*.

(13) Torso of a highly polished figure in the round showing the girdle of the lower garment. Hand (of a lost companion) on the proper left side of the back. (Mauryan.)

(14) Similar, but smaller, torso of a female figure in the round. Highly polished. Beaded girdle. Thick rope-like cord depends from the shoulder.

(15) Arm and hand of a figure, anatomically incorrect. Three bracelets on the forearm.

(16) Thigh portion of a larger figure in the round. Polish has disappeared. On the left hip is a cylindrical pouch divided into 10 segments and supported by a cord slung around the waist.

(17) Fragment of a diminutive Mauryan image in relief showing upper half of a standing male figure. *Chaurī* in the right hand on shoulder; stalk of lotus (now lost) in the left. No polish is traceable; but the material and workmanship leave no doubt as to its date. Found in the rampart near site 3, south-west of the mound.

(18) Two fragments of stone possibly from a sixteen-sided Persepolitan capital.

(19) Numerous fragments of stone umbrella discs, with exceptionally high polish. Decorated with a series of parallel or radiating ribs.

(20) A most beautifully worked gold bead; part of a bracelet. "It is about one inch long, hollow and tubular, and all along it are delicate ribbings crested with that minute granulation peculiar to the early period."

(21) Flat gold disc showing radiating rays of the sun, each ray bearing a line of the same delicate granulation which the bead (No. 20) displays. Hole in the centre. Possibly a nose-button. Hardly later than the second century B.C. (found 11 ft. 10 ins. below surface).

(22) Many of the numerous potsherds recovered at the site are decorated and some of them bear the figures of the sun or a star and the Persian fire-altar impressed upon them. These show Persian influence. The tract where they were found is locally known as the *Maunī Pokhar*. Dr. Spooner argues that *Maunī* in Sanskrit is used for a *silent man* "and in the Bhavishya Purāna, which describes the coming of the Magi to this country in late Epic times, this special term of *Maunī* is applied to them by way of nickname, the Hindus having dubbed them 'Silentiaries' because of their curious rule of eating in silence—a peculiarity which Sir Dorab Tātā tells me is still maintained among the Pārsīs of the modern age. *Maunī Pokhar*, therefore, means 'The Magian's Pool', and it is doubly significant that such a name as this should be preserved by the illiterate people of the neighbourhood, where all my other evidences have themselves so plainly pointed to the Magian character of the site, and that in this very place upon the edge, as it were, of this 'The Magian's Pool,' we should have found this mass of sacred pottery with Zoroastrian emblems. The harmony between *Maunī Pokhar* and the Persian fire-altar upon its banks would seem complete."

The antiquities recovered from the site are exhibited in the Patna Museum.

(*g*) None beyond those engraved on some of the minor antiquities described above.

(*h*) The excavated site of the palace is generally under water. A few of the timber platforms and some small conical mounds with stone fragments may, however, be seen in the hot season. The large column is now placed on higher ground in the Kumrāhar garden.

(*i*) Dist. Gazet. Patna, 17-19, 204-05; A.S.R. (1912-13), 53-86; A.S.R.,E.C. (1912-13), 55-61; (1913-14), 45-74; (1914-15), 45-60; Waddell's Pataliputra, 19-21; Mukerji's Report, 18-19. (*k*) 1029-1083, 1135-1159, 1232-41, 1377-82.

Patna (Bankipore).

No. 36.—(*a*) The Golā or Granary.

(*b*) On the Patna-Dināpur Road opposite the Girl's High School; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II*a*; (*e*) 1784-1786.

(*f*) The most prominent and the most curious building in Bankipore is the Old Government Granary known as the Golā or Golghar. It is a large domical brick building standing on a plinth 2 ft. 9 ins. high which forms a running platform 5 ft. 4 ins. wide around the base of the dome. The building resembles an inverted beehive or the half of an egg in shape, and is 96 feet high including the base. It has four small doors, one in each quadrant, which now open outwards as a result of later alterations, though originally they were made to open inwards. The walls are 12 ft. 4 ins. thick through the passages at the base, which are provided with iron gates at the outer ends. Two spiral stairways of 139 steps each lead to the top of the dome, where a small circular opening was left for pouring in grain. But the building, though specially erected after the great famine of 1770 for the provident storage of cereals, was never so used, and is now utilised as a godown for Government tents and furniture. The space covered by the huge dome is 109 feet in diameter (internally). The dome is remarkable for its reverberating echo, which answers to the slightest sound, a whisper at one side being clearly repeated at the opposite side. The Gazetteer mentions that Jaṅg Bahādur of Nepāl ascended to the top of the dome on horseback by one stairway and came down by the other. Some people do not believe the story but in fact such a feat is well within the powers of a good hill pony. The stair to the west has now been closed.

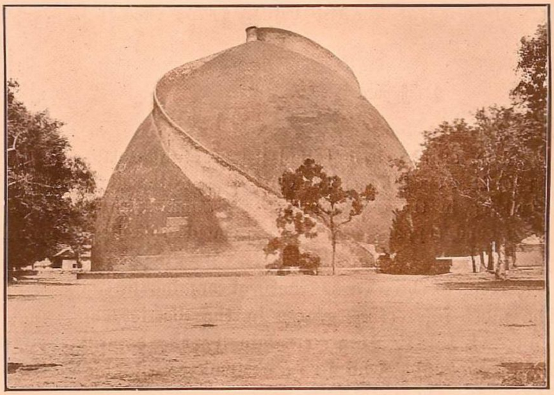

FIG. 77.—The Golā or Granary, Bankipore, Patna.

The circular space at the top commands an excellent view of the surrounding country. Enclosed by a brick wall, it measures 10 ft. 9 ins. across. The hole in its centre (2 ft. 7 ins. in diameter) which was intended for pouring in grain from the top has been closed with a stone slab. Distances in Bankipore are generally calculated from the Golā, which forms a prominent land-mark for a considerable distance and is especially conspicuous along the river.

(*g*) (i) Flanking the northern entrance of the gateway are two inscriptions, one in English and the other in Persian. The English inscription reads as follows :—

"In part of a general plan ordered by the Governor General and Council, 20th of January 1784, for the perpetual prevention of famine in these provinces, this granary was erected by Captain John Garstin, Engineer. Completed on the 20th July 1786, First filled, and publicly closed by........" The storehouse has never been filled and so the blank in the inscription remains.

(ii) The inscription in Persian is only a translation of the English record. The building is called "Ganj" in this inscription.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) Heber's India, I, 315-317; S.A.B., Patna, 69-70; L.A.M.B., 236-238; Dist. Gazet., Patna 180-81. (*k*) 2888.

Rājgīr.

No. 37.—(*a*) Old Rājgīr.

(*b*) In a broad valley enclosed on all sides by lofty hills; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān Zamīndār of Rājgīr, and others; (*d*) II, c and III; (*e*) The outer walls of the city were built in pre-historic times. The latest building in the old town was the Jaina Maṭh (1780) which was dismantled when the brick mound supporting it was excavated to disclose the present Maniyār Maṭh monument.

(*f*) Containing, as it does, some of the oldest structural remains in India, Rājgīr can claim to be one of the most interesting places in the district, and indeed in the whole of the Province of Bihār. It was originally the capital of Jarāsandha, a pre-historic King of Magadha who is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as taking a prominent part in the great war commemorated in that epic. The town was then known as 'Girivraj', or the mountain-girt city, a name which also occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa. We learn from the Mahābhārata that two of the Pāṇḍava brothers, Bhīm and Arjun, accompanied by Krishṇa, the divine hero, entered Girivraj in disguise and forced Jarāsandha to meet Bhīm in single combat. The struggle, it is said, extended over a period of twenty eight days and nights, and in the end the Asura king was overpowered and slain. The *Akhāṛā* or "wrestling-ground" where the match was held is still shown and is locally known as the Raṇ-bhūmi[1] of Jarāsandha. After the defeat and death of Jarāsandha we hear nothing of Girivraj for many centuries; until in historic times, the Śaiśunāga king, Bimbisāra (519-491 B.C.), made his capital in the valley enclosed by the lofty hills which were, and are still, crowned by cyclopean fortifications reputed to be of Jarāsandha's

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[1] The soil of this tract is very white on the surface and reddish in the pits. Tradition says that it was washed with milk by Jarāsandha every day. The Hindūs use the earth for *tilak* and believe that besmearing the body with this earth greatly increases one's strength.

time. Bimbisāra was a contemporary of the Buddha, who paid frequent visits to Rājgīr and the neighbourhood. "It was here that Buddha studied under the Brahmans Alara and Uddaka, and here after the attainment of Buddhahood, he used to spend his time in retreat, his favourite resorts being the Veṇuvana or Bamboo Grove near the hot springs, and the hill called Gṛidhrakūṭa or the Vulture's Peak, now known as Chhaṭhagiri. At Rājgīr he often preached and taught, king Bimbisāra being among his disciples; here too a Jaina[1] ascetic made a pit of fire and poisoned the rice which Buddha was asked to eat; and it was here that Devadatta attempted to take his life, a crime for which he is punished in the Buddhist hell"..........

"After the death of Buddha (*cir.* 483 B.C.), the first great Buddhist council was held here in the Sattapanni cave to fix the tenets of the Buddhist faith; and Ajātaśatru, Bimbisāra's successor, built a new capital[2] to the north of the old city and erected a great stūpa over Buddha's ashes. Shortly after this, on the foundation of Pāṭaliputra by Udaya (*cir.* 434 B. C.) Rājgīr ceased to be the royal residence, but it continued to be an important place of pilgrimage. Mahendra, the brother of Aśoka, lived an anchorite's life in a hermitage on the Vulture's Peak; and Aśoka himself, we are told, died on one of its sacred hills (231 B.C.). In the fifth century A. D. it was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, according to whose account the old city was desolate and without inhabitants, but in the new city—that of Ajātaśatru—there were two great monasteries, and the stūpa built over the ashes of Buddha was still standing. This site, however, was also destined to be deserted; for in the seventh century Yuan Chwang, another Chinese pilgrim (*cir.* 637 B.C.), found that though the inner walls were still standing, the outer walls were in ruins; the sole inhabitants were Brāhmans, and they numbered only 1,000. The place was still, however, a popular centre of pilgrimage, and numerous temples had been constructed round the sacred springs."

The ancient city of Bimbisāra was known as Kuśāgārapura, or the city, the home of *Kuśa* grass. This is now known as Old Rājgīr; while the capital of Ajātaśatru, of which the fort walls may be seen near the Inspection Bungalow is known as New Rājgīr—names as old as the days of Fa Hian and Yuan Chwang. The modern name Rājgīr is obviously derived from Rājagriha, a name which was probably given to the town by Ajātaśatru when he built the new town to north of the Old Capital, or perhaps by the Śaiśunāga Kings when they made that place their capital.

The outer walls.—The oldest remains extant at Rājgīr are the outer walls of the Old City extending over a length of some 25 to 30 miles along the crests of the hills, a distance which approximately agrees with the estimate of 150 *li* given

[1] Rājgīr is one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage, not only for the Buddhists but also for the Jainas and Hindūs. The Jainas have several temples on each of the five hills of Rājgīr. Hindūs generally go there to bathe in the Hot Springs at the foot of the Vaibhāra and Vipula Hills. Every three years, in the intercalary month, a large bathing fair is held which continues for a full month; and on certain particular festivals such as the Somavatī Amāvasyā, thousands of Hindūs gather from the neighbouring villages to take a dip in each of the sacred springs. The bathing fair seems to have originated in Mediæval times.

[2] Other accounts ascribe the new city to Bimbisāra; but see Legge's *Travels of Fa Hian*, p. 81.

by Yuan Chwang. The plan, position and extent of the walls will best be appreciated by a reference to the Survey Map accompanying, but something must be said about the construction of these pre-historic memorials—the earliest structural remains that we know of in India. " The faces of the walls are built of massive undressed stones between three and five feet in length, carefully fitted and bonded together, while the core between them is composed of smaller blocks less carefully cut and laid with chips or fragments of stone packing the interstices between them. No mortar or cement is visible anywhere in the stone work.

" The fortifications are standing to their greatest height on the east and west of the Bāngaṅgā Pass, where their elevation is between eleven and twelve feet. On the rest of Sona-giri, and on Vaibhāra-giri, Vipula-giri, and Ratna-giri, the walls are much ruined and seldom rise higher than seven or eight feet. From the fact that, where the height of between eleven and twelve feet is reached, the walls are invariably finished off with a course of small stones, and that there are no fallen blocks of stone lying near, we may assume that this was the original height of the massive masonry described above. Above this substructure, there was no doubt a superstructure composed either of smaller stone work or of bricks baked or unbaked, or possibly of wood and stone or brick combined.

" The thickness of the fortifications varies somewhat on the different hills. The usual thickness is 17 ft. 6 ins. but the wall flanking the east side of the Bāngaṅgā Pass is only 14 ft. at its beginning, increasing to 16 ft. 6 ins. higher up, while the stretch on the east slope of the Vaibhāra hill is some two feet above the average in width.

" A noticeable feature of the fortifications are bastions attached to the outside of the walls, wherever especial strength was required. Sixteen such structures have been observed, of which seven occur at the Bāngaṅgā Pass: namely, four on the west and three on the east side. They are solid rectangular buildings constructed after the same fashion as the wall and built on to it at irregular intervals. In plan, they measure from 47 ft. to 60 ft. long by 34 ft. to 40 ft. broad, the long side always coinciding with the face of the wall on to which they abut. They rise to the same height as the wall and, like it, were, no doubt, provided with superstructures which have now disappeared. The distances between the bastions on the west of the Bāngaṅgā defile are 80 ft., 168 ft. and 185 ft. respectively; those on the east being 140 ft. and 146 ft.

" Of the remaining seven bastions which still exist, four belong to the outer northern gate of the Old City, and are marked on the sketch plan (accompanying). The one just above the northern gate on Vipula-giri is much dilapidated, while the other one on the same hill, further to the north, is even more ruined. Of the two on Vaibhāra-giri, the one immediately above the stone-house is well preserved, but of the other, which is situated opposite the northern entrance and straight above the Godāvarī stream, only a few traces remain. The other three bastions are on the Vaibhāra-giri: the first about 150

paces west of the last of the four shrines on the summit, the second about 300 paces further on, and the last one nearly opposite the site of Sattapannī Hall.

"Another interesting feature about the outer fortifications of the Old City are stairs, or rather ramps, built in the thickness of the wall along its inner face, in order to give access to the top. Only nine such ramps have so far been observed, and they are all in the stretch of wall running along the northern side of Sona-giri up to a point a little beyond the Jaina shrine, which is built on its summit. These ramps measure approximately 5 ft. 6 ins. wide, and 15 ft. long. They occur at quite irregular intervals the distances between the nine noticed being 74 ft., 192 ft., 140 ft., 86 ft., 30 ft., 240 ft., 35 ft., and 480 ft. respectively, starting from the northern end.

"The defences described above were further supplemented, possibly at a later date, by separate watch-towers erected at various prominent points on the hills, *viz.*, one just above the hot springs, and the other nearly midway between it and the group of shrines on the summit. The former of these has been rightly identified with the Pippala stone-house, described by the Chinese pilgrims.... Four other watch-towers of a similar kind may be seen on the Vipula-giri, and another on the easternmost peak of Ratna-giri."[1]

Of the main gates in the outer city walls, traces of only one on the north are visible. There must have been some more, and one was probably at the Bāngaṅgā Pass, but all traces of them have vanished. Both on the north side of the city and on either side of the Bāngaṅgā Pass the fortifications have been strengthened with much care.

About the middle of the Bāngaṅgā stream, at the north foot of the Ūdaya-giri hill, are two prominent tamarind trees. To their south-west are a few small pools of greenish water; and between the trees is clearly visible the south face of an embankment running east to west for a length of some 25 feet, apparently but a small portion of the original, which extended much further in each direction. Opposite to this, on the south, may be seen the north face of a stone abutment built against the hill, which continues to west for about 100 feet and then bends towards the south along the foot of the hill. The masonry of these embankments is more carefully constructed than that of the outer city wall close by, and the suggestion offers itself that here perhaps was once built a bridge across the stream, the water of which was first diverted by the northern embankment to flow close against the hill. Once on the hill side, wayfarers could easily make their way across the rocks over to the plains on the south side of the hills.

The north gate of the outer city wall was some 250 feet north-east of the temple of Jwālā Devī, on the east bank of the Gomtī-Godāvarī stream, right at the foot of the Vipula-giri. The modern road from Rājgīr now passes through the old gate, the position of which is marked by a small mound of debris on the west and a single course of large unhewn blocks on the east forming the west face of the eastern jamb. The passage through the gate was some 30 feet deep, and the north and south faces of the east wall can

[1] A.S.R. (1905-06), 88-90.

be readily traced for some 80 feet. In continuation of this wall and higher up on the hill side, are two large bastions of the old fortifications, the lower one of which is crowned by a small modern temple known as the Gaṇeśa mandir.

FIG. 78.—North Gate (from N.), Old fort, Rājgīr.

Historically, however, the most important portion of the outer wall is that section of it which stretches right across the south-eastern valley from the summit of Ūdaya-giri to that of Chhaṭā-giri, and links together the lines of fortifications along the southern and northern hills. About the middle of the valley, (where the inner city wall bends out in a semicircle) it joins the inner wall, leaving only a narrow moat between them, and then bends a little[1] and continues its progress towards the east for about a mile, again taking a sharp turn to north until it reaches the foot of Chhaṭā-giri. From this point up to the summit of Chhaṭā-giri this wall is known as the "Bimbisāra Road."

Yuan Chwang tells us that when Bimbisāra was about to visit Buddha on Mt. Gṛidhrakūṭa, he raised a number of men to accompany him; that "they levelled the valleys and spanned the precipices, and with the stones made a staircase about 10 paces wide and 5 or 6 *li* long." "This road of Bimbisāra," says Sir John Marshall, "still affords the most convenient footway through the jungle and up the hill side in approaching Gṛidhrakūṭa (which is the same as Chhaṭā-giri), but there can be little doubt that in pre-historic times it formed a line of fortification, and was built for that purpose......... It is built of rough undressed stones, like all the pre-historic walls of Rājagṛiha, and its width is from 20 to 24 feet, which agrees well enough with the 10 paces of Yuan Chwang. On its outer side—that is, towards the valley—there seems to have been a wall some 3 or 4 feet thick. Only its foundations, however, remain and, being level with the causeway, it looks at first sight as if they

[1] In Mr. Wilson's Survey Map the semi-circular bend of the inner city wall has been marked as the Nekpai (Nākve) Embankment. But it is the bend of the outer wall, or rather that portion of it which is immediately to south of the junction of the two walls and which has now broken away, that is called "Nākve Bānd" by the local people. That, however, would be a big name for a small thing and the present writer is of opinion that the long stretch of the outer wall from the foot of Ūdaya-giri to its junction with the inner city wall served in ancient times the double purpose of embankment and fortification. The wall did not certainly mark the limits of the outer city; but it evidently helped to divert the whole of the drainage from the Giriak valley on the western side of the watershed to the north through a moat on the outer side of the inner city wall. "Floods have broken through the Nākve Bānd in modern times, so that the main stream flows towards the south and has begun to cut away the city wall." *A.S.R.* (*1913-14*), *p. 268*.

had been laid there to widen it. Whether this wall was contemporary or not with the causeway cannot be determined.

"To continue, however, Yuan Chwang's description. 'In the middle of the road,' he states, 'there are two small stūpas, one called Hia-Shing (Dismounting from the chariot), because the king when he got there went forward on foot. The other is called T'ui-fan (Sending back the crowd), because the king, separating the common folk, would not allow them to proceed with him...... There is a brick *vihāra* on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. It is high and wide and beautifully constructed. The door opens to the east.'

"The two stūpas, which Yuan Chwang found planted right in the middle of the causeway, are still there, and one has to turn aside to pass them. The first (Hia-Shing) is 80 yards from the base; it is composed of rough stone foundations with brick above, but all the superstructure has fallen to ruin. The second stūpa is further up the ascent, where the causeway bends round to the north. Its structure is similar to the first one. Both these stūpas were examined, but only sixteen fragments of broken Buddhist statues of the type common all over Bihār and dating from the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D. were found.

"Just beyond this T'ui-fan stūpa, the causeway crosses a rocky stream ...., and above this point it can only be traced here and there, on the north side of the long rocky ridge. The whole length of the causeway from the Nākve embankment to the peak of Gṛidhrakūṭa is hardly more than a mile and a half, so that, if the Nākve embankment represents the limit of the 'Palace City' towards the east, and if Yuan Chwang took his distance of 15 *li* from here, it follows that this measurement is exaggerated. It is by no means certain, however, that he did calculate the distance from this point.......

"The '*vihāra* on the borders of the precipice at the western end of the mountain' has, unfortunately, fallen to ruin, but there can be no question about the identity of the structure referred to by Yuan Chwang. The bricks which lie about are exceptionally well cut, and some of them are elegantly carved, thus bearing out Yuan Chwang's statement. Below the precipice, to the south of the *vihāra*, is a fair sized stūpa, no doubt the one mentioned by Yuan Chwang. This stūpa was also excavated, but yielded nothing.

"East of the *vihāra*, the hill top is broken up by gigantic masses of rugged rocks, and almost every yard of the ground between them is occupied by the remains of some brick or stone structure, while there are many more ruins below the ridge both on its north and south sides. Among all these it is not easy to identify with certainty the other structures and natural landmarks noticed by the Chinese pilgrims, though there is little doubt that some more will be identified when anyone has time to spare for the purpose. In particular, it would be worth while trying to find the stone on which Buddha walked up and down for exercise, the great rock said to have been flung at him by Devadatta, the hole in the rock through which Buddha stretched

his hand to pat Ānanda's head, and the rock in the stream, north-west of the ridge, on which Buddha dried his garment and which was seen by both Yuan Chwang, and It-Sing."[1]

The inner city wall had a circuit of nearly 4½ miles and was roughly pentagonal in plan (see Survey Map). So far as it has been surveyed it does not appear to have been provided with any bastions, watch towers, ramps or stairs, and its position is at present marked by long ridges of earth and stones covered with dense jungle which, in some places, is very difficult to penetrate. The west wall has almost entirely disappeared, having been destroyed by the Koilwā and other tributaries of the Sarasvatī. Of the north wall, which was the shortest, only a length of about 80 feet is traceable, and it is now represented by a raised ridge running east to west along the southern bank of the small stream coming from the eastern hill. The north gate of the inner city is marked by a gap some 50 feet wide between this ridge and the mound to its west, which is crowned with a small temple dedicated to Jwālā Devī and containing a modern figure of Mahishāsuramardinī. The south wall is perhaps the best preserved, and in some places attains to a height of 30 to 40 feet above the level of the valley inside. In this wall there are three well-marked gaps through which ancient roads can be traced.

"The pilgrims' road from the Son Bhaṇḍār to the Sona-giri hill now passes through one. Near the middle of the wall is another gap, which seems to have been the principal gate of the city on the south. From the Bāngaṅgā Pass on the south a road can be distinctly traced which turns to west round a spur of the Sona-giri, part of which has been cut away to make room for it, and then after some distance again turns sharply through this gap to enter the old city. This road can then be traced through the city as far as the North Gate. It runs close to the eastern wall of the Maniyār Math compound, as is shown by the dotted line in the plan, and was almost certainly the ancient main road. Still further to the east is the gap through which the modern road from Rājgīr now passes. This gap also represents an ancient gate, and the original road through it corresponds very closely with the track still taken by the pilgrims who descend from Ratna-giri and cross the south-east portion of the valley to Ūdaya-giri."[2]

On the outer side of the semi-circular bend in the south-east corner of the inner city wall, there is a moat, 15 to 20 feet deep, which for the first 300 yards or so of its length has been cut into the solid rock. About 400 feet to north from the junction of the Nākve Band with the city wall, there is a gap which possibly formed the east gate of the inner ramparts. The moat in front of it is very narrow here, being only 4 feet wide at the base. The restricted width here appears to have been intentional, with a view to providing a bridge across the moat; for in the rock on the east side of the moat are three deep circular hollows (2 feet in diameter at the bottom) in which were probably embedded the lower ends of stout wooden pillars to

[1] A.S.R. (1905-06), pp. 91-3.
[2] A.S.R. (1913-14), p. 267.

PART OF PATNA DISTRICT

RAJGIR HILLS FROM RAJGIR TO GIRIAK

Scale 1 inch = ½ Mile. or 1:31.680.

Surveyed under the direction of J. H. Marshall, Esqr., M. A., Director-General of Archæology in India by Mr. A. J. Wilson, late Survey of India, assisted by Amin-ud-din Ahmed, Sub-Surveyor.

Helio. S. I. O., Calcutta.

Reg. No. 3198 E. 27. 503

support the beams of the bridge. In ancient times this was probably the chief, and perhaps the only, means of communication with the Giriak valley on the east. The three hollows are not on the same level. Nor are there any traces of similar hollow foundations on the west side of the rocky moat; but they are shown on both sides in the map prepared by the late Mr. Jackson,[1] who informed the writer personally that he actually saw such a feature on the west side. About a hundred yards further north of this gate and bridge there is a curious projection on the inner face of the city wall. Its purpose is not known, but perhaps excavation would elucidate the point. It seems highly probable that the "Palace City" spoken of by Yuan Chwang was situated in the semi-circular bend of the city walls, and it is quite possible that this projection marks the site of the stūpa of Śrī Gupta, which was "close to a deep hollow or ditch". If this could be established it would lead to the identification of several other ancient monuments spoken of by Yuan Chwang and particularly facilitate the location of the garden of Jīvaka which was "to north-east" of the stūpa of Śrī Gupta.

As for the ancient buildings enclosed within the walls of Old Rājgīr, there are hardly any in existence. The modern roads and pathways through the valley pass over the foundations of numerous stone buildings, some of which were of very considerable size. A large compound to north of the Maniyār Math with a tank in the middle occupies an area of about 10 acres and is locally known as the Khakhadū Bathān, and tradition says that it was used as a cow-pen in ancient days. Midway between the outer North Gate and the Sonbhandār Cave on the other side of stream are the foundations of a stone building 118 feet square including the walls, which are 5 ft. thick. Besides these, there are numerous other buildings, some of which appear to be designed on the monastic or *Ḥavelī* plan—*viz.*, a large court in the middle enclosed by a series of rooms on all four sides. But the most interesting of all these appears to be the small but massive stone structure the foundation walls of which[2] are seen between the *sthān* of Pāto-Piṇḍī (who is worshipped by Rajwārs and Gowālās as a protection against wild animals) and the south-east gate of the inner city, through which passes the modern road to Bāngaṅgā. Its walls are 6½ feet thick and have circular bastions at the corners. "It appears to be of great antiquity, and as it lies in the very limited portion of Old Rājagṛha from which the Gṛidhrakūṭa hill is visible, it may be of interest in connexion with the tradition that when king Bimbisāra was shut up in prison by his son Ajātaśatru he was able to see the Buddha on that hill." It is not unlikely that this prison was situated within the precincts of the "Palace City".

About a dozen square wells of ancient date have also been observed. They are cut in the rock, and are generally dry and hidden in the jungle. A short distance beyond the south wall of the inner city on the road to Bān-

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[1] Published in A.S.R., 1913-14.
[2] No. 15 on Mr. Jackson's Map. (A.S.R., 1913-14.)

gaṅgā is a circular well of brick masonry which still contains water. Some 12 feet below the mouth of this well are two defaced inscriptions on bricks built in the masonry. One of the inscriptions is said to contain the date, Samvat 1007.

(For Maniyār Maṭh and Sonbhaṇḍār Cave see Nos. 47 and 39.)

(*g*) See Nos. 38, 39, 44, 47 of the list. (*h*) In ruins. (*j*) C.S.R., I, 20-25; III, 140-8; VIII, 90 ff; A.S.R. (1905-06), 86-93; (1913-14), 265-71; I. A., I, 108-09; XXXI, 68-70; A.G.I., 466; A.S.R., E.C. (1905-06), 14. (*k*) 413 to 420, 2425, 1884.

No. 38.—(*a*) Shell inscription in the Bāngaṅgā defile.

(*b*) Some 4 miles from the Dāk Bungalow at Rājgīr, and to east of the road from that place to Nawāda; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar ʾAlī Khān of Ḥusainābād and others; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) Uncertain; probably Mediæval.

(*f*) The inscriptions are cut in a portion of the old rocky highway leading from Rājgīr to the Bāngaṅgā defile and are written in what are generally known as "Shell" characters. They have been worn away to a great extent by the traffic of wayfarers and animals, but enough still remains to make out their form. The view has been expressed that these inscriptions contain only the names of some of the masons, etc., employed in the construction of the road; but it is possible that in the disappearance of this record information of great value for the history of Rājagṛha may have been lost. In order to protect them from further damage a rubble barrier wall has recently been erected to enclose them on the north, west and south sides.

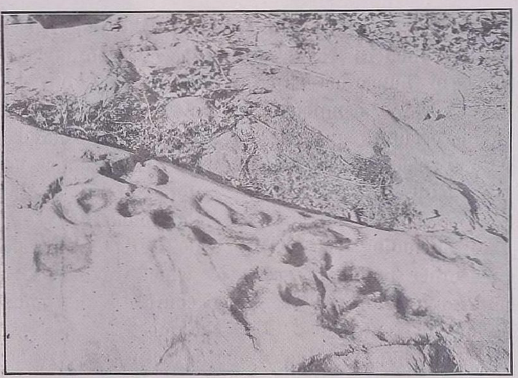

FIG. 79.—Shell inscription in the rock path, Rājgīr.

The carriage or cart-ruts running from the north-west to the south-east corner of the enclosure are interesting. They measure 5 feet from centre to centre. Traces of similar cart-ruts are seen in many places on the ancient road.

(*g*) The inscriptions have not yet been deciphered. (*h*) Fairly good. (*j*) C.S.R., VIII, 86; (*k*) 2421-23.

No. 39.—(*a*) Sonbhaṇḍār Cave.

(*b*) In the south face of the Vaibhāra hill about a mile from the Hot Springs; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar ʾAlī Khān of Ḥusainābād and others are the owners of the hills, and the local Paṇḍās receive the offerings; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) 3rd or 4th century A.D.

(*f*) The "Sonbhaṇḍār" or 'treasury of gold' cave is excavated in the southern scarp of the Vaibhāra hill, about a mile from the Pippala Stone House (No. 42). It measures 34 ft. by 17 ft. and contains a doorway and a window 6 ft. 6 ins. by 3 ft. 4 ins. and 3 ft. by 2 ft. 6 ins. respectively. The door has sloping jambs, the width at the top being about 6 ins. less than the width at the base given above. The walls are straight up to a height of 6 ft. 6 ins. The roof is of arched shape with a rise of 4 ft. 10 ins., making the total height of the chamber 11 ft. 4 ins. There are no pedestals or other indications of statues inside the cave. A number of short epigraphs can be traced on the inner walls, the door jambs, and on the front wall; but they are mostly obliterated, with the exception of one to the right of the door which is reproduced below. This last is of great importance in its bearing on the identity and purpose of the cave. General Cunningham identified the Sonbhaṇḍār Cave with the famous Sattapanni Hall, in which, under the presidency of Mahākāśyapa, the first Buddhist Council was held to collect and preserve the tenets of the faith after the death of the Buddha. Mr. Beglar disagreed with the theory of his chief, however, and identified this and the neighbouring cave with the caves of the Buddha and Ānanda. In the light of the information afforded by this inscription both the theories may be dismissed: for the record ascribes the excavation of the cave to one Muni Vairadeva, who enshrined in it the images of Arhats, or Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, as they would now be called. The Jaina epithet 'muni', as against the Buddhist '*bhikshu*', is significant, and indicates that the cave was from the very beginning, as indeed it is now, a Jaina sanctuary; and as such, it is hardly to be expected that the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims would refer to it at all. Again, the form *Vaira* is peculiar to the Jaina *prākrit* and would

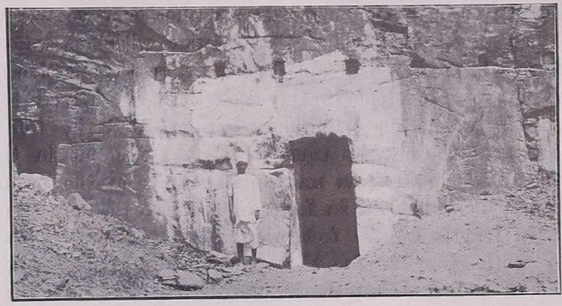

Fig. 80.—Exterior of Sonbhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgīr.

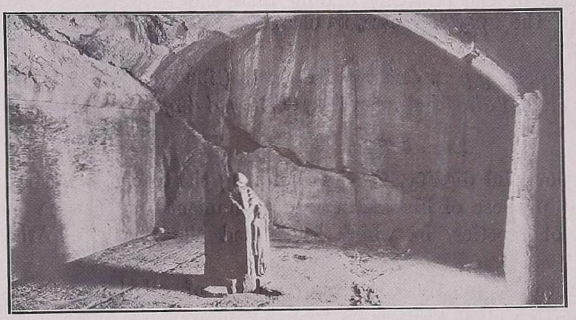

Fig. 81.—Interior of Sonbhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgīr.

be represented in Sanskrit by *Vajra*. Close to the inscription is still faintly perceptible the outline of the lower half of a small naked male figure, doubtless one of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

To the east of the Sonbhaṇḍār, General Cunningham saw another cave 22½ ft. by 17 ft., of which the roof had given way, filling the interior with masses of rock and earth. All that is at present traceable, however, is the north-east corner of this cave and a few of the steps in the rock between it and the Sonbhaṇḍār. Both caves seemingly had an extension of some kind in front, as is indicated by the existence of some 13 square socket holes cut in the rock above the level of the entrance door to receive the ends of the beams of a verandah. General Cunningham noticed in front of the caves a bare cleared space of some 90 feet in length by 30 feet wide, but it is now covered with débris and overgrown with jungle. In the Sonbhaṇḍār cave is now placed a sculpture depicting a naked Jaina figure on each of its four faces. On the pedestals of these figures are elephants, horses, bulls, and monkeys in pairs flanking a *chakra*. The rock is not sufficiently homogeneous to be suitable for the excavation of caves and the roof contains several large longitudinal cracks which leak profusely during the rains.

(*g*) I. By the right side of the doorway leading into the cave is a Sanskrit inscription of two lines in the *upajāti* metre, in characters of the third or fourth century A.D.; it reads:—

1. *Nirvāṇa-lābhāya tapasvi-yogye, śubhe guhe=rhatpra(ti)mā-pratishṭhe (I).*
2. *Āchāryya-ratnaṁ muni-Vairadevaḥ, vimuktaye=kārayad-dīrgha (?)-tejā(ḥ II).*

Translation.

"Muni Vairadeva of powerful dignity, the jewel among the teachers (āchāryas) caused to be made for the purpose of liberation and attainment of Nirvāṇa two auspicious caves worthy of ascetics, in which he placed the images of Arhats (or Jaina Tirthānkaras)."

II. Numerous short records, mostly containing names of pilgrims. One of those on the back or north wall is written in "Shell" characters, and tradition says that the treasure concealed behind this cave shall be discovered by the person who can decipher this record.[1]

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C.S.R., III, 140-44; VIII, 90-92; I.A. (1901), 58-59; A.S.R. (1905-06), 97-98. (*k*) 411, 412, 2217-2220, 2427.

No. 40.—(*a*) Stūpa of Ajātaśatru. (?)

(*b*) Behind the Sūraj Kuṇḍ; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and others of Ḥusainābād; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) Reign of Ajātaśatru (circa 497 to 459 B.C.).

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[1] In the chiselled face of the rock forming the north wall of the Sonbhaṇḍār cave are two perpendicular and two horizontal cracks, which together enclose a space of some 6 feet by 4½ feet resembling more or less a blocked-up passage. Local tradition says that it is a massive stone wedge inserted by the ancient people for the safety of untold treasures concealed behind the cave. The name of the cave, it is asserted, lends further support to this tradition, which still finds credence in otherwise unsophisticated minds.

The name Sonbhaṇḍār, it may be remarked, is not given in the inscription which records the excavation of the cave by Munj Vairadeva.

(*f*) Yuan Chwang describes the stūpa of Ajātaśatru as lying to the east of the Karaṇḍa Veṇuvana. If this is correct, then its position is possibly marked by a plinth, built in the fashion of the Pippala Stone House, which stands near the foot of the Vipula hill behind the Sūraj Kuṇḍ and some 270 yards to the east of the garden.

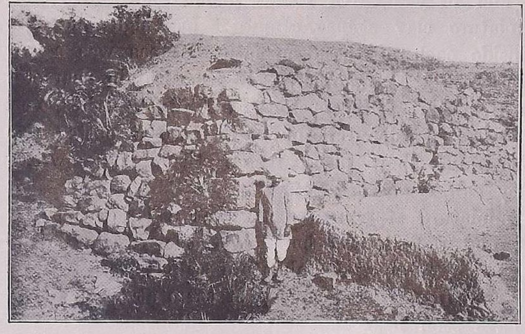


Fig. 82.—Ruined stone platform by the side of the Sūraj Kuṇḍ, (Stūpa of Ajātaśatru ?), Rājgīr.

The plinth stands about 12 feet high. Its western side is intact and measures 45 feet long, but the other sides are ruined.

Fa Hian, it may be observed, locates the stūpa of Ajātaśatru to the west of New Rājgīr, and it is obvious that some confusion existed as to its precise position. To the writer it would seem that Fa Hian was more probably right; in which case this stone structure might possibly have had some connection with the walls of Old Rājgīr.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Fair. (*j*) A.S.R. (1905-06), p. 96. (*k*) 2594.

No. 41.—(*a*) Stūpa of Aśoka.

(*b*) West of New Rājgīr; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and others of Ḥusainābād; (*d*) IIc; (*e*) Fa Hian ascribes this stūpa to Ajātaśatru (circa 491-59 B.C.) and Yuan Chwang to Aśoka (274-37 B.C.).

(*f*) To west of the New City of Rājagṛiha is a large mound which is believed to mark the site of the stūpa of Ajātaśatru, according to Fa Hian or that of the stūpa of Aśoka, according to Yuan Chwang. Cunningham calls it the stūpa of Aśoka. To the writer it would seem that Fa Hian was probably correct in calling it the stūpa of Ajātaśatru, but the monument may have subsequently been repaired by Aśoka, who is said to have opened the stūpa of Ajātaśatru and whose name would thus be associated with it.

The mound is 31 feet high towards the east end, 20 feet at the west end, and only 15 feet in the middle. Excavation in 1905-06 revealed some layers of bricks "of the typical Mauryan type" at a depth of 12 feet in the western part of the mound. But beneath these bricks were found some fragments of Mediæval statues, which made it plain that the Mauryan bricks had been re-used in the construction of a later building. To north and south of the brickwork were discovered three concrete terraces, the uppermost only three feet below the top of the mound, the next one about a foot lower down, and the third some seven feet below that again. In the saddle about the middle of the mound were found near the surface the remains of three Mediæval stūpas and "three shallow tanks with sloping walls of brick covered

with plaster ". These tanks were possibly used for mixing mortar. The western part of the mound was opened to a depth of 10 feet only. In it were the remains of some brick walls, and in the earth round about and above them were found a number of miniature clay stūpas, about 2 ins. high and 1 in. in diameter at their bases. Inside each of these miniature stūpas was a tiny clay tablet with the Buddhist creed " *Ye dharma, etc.*" inscribed in characters of the 8th or 9th century A.D. " It is a custom in India ", writes Yuan Chwang, " to make little stūpas of powdered scent made into a paste ; their height is about 6 or 7 inches, and they place inside them some written extract from a *sūtra ;* this they call a *dharma śarīra* ".

" The presence of these miniature stūpas suggests that a large stūpa, the core of which was of earth and débris, was built over the remains of the brick walls mentioned above....... That such miniature stūpas were frequently built into larger ones we know from the discovery of them at other sites." [1] Yuan Chwang mentions to have seen near the stūpa a pillar surmounted by an elephant. But no traces of the pillar now exist, nor is there any local tradition that a lofty pillar ever existed in the neighbourhood. FaHian, it may also be observed, makes no mention of a pillar near the stūpa.

(*g*) None on surface. (*h*) Ruined. The walls and the brickwork exposed in 1906 have all disappeared. Bricks are still excavated and taken away by the villagers. (*j*) A.S.R. (1905-06), 96-7 ; C.S.R., III, pl. XLI. (*k*) 406.

No. 42.—(*a*) Pippala Stone House, locally known as *Machān* or " watch-tower".

(*b*) A little above the Hot Springs, at the eastern end of the Vaibhāra-giri ; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and others of Ḥusainābād ; (*d*) II*c* ; (*e*) Tradition avers it to be the place of meditation of the Buddha.

(*f*) A little above the Hot Springs, on the eastern slope of the Vaibhāra-giri and to the right of the pathway leading up to the Mahādeva temple, on the top of that hill is a remarkable stone structure, known as the Jarāsandh kī Baiṭhak, which has been identified with the Pippala Stone House of the Chinese Pilgrims. The passage in FaHian's account which deals with this part of old Rājagṛha reads as follows :—

" Striking the southern hill (presumably the Vaibhāra) and proceeding westward 300 paces,

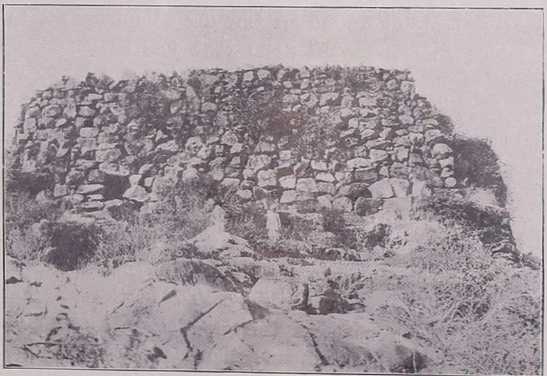


FIG. 83.—Pippala Stone House (Jarāsandh kī Baiṭhak) from east, Rājgīr.

[1] A.S.R., 1905-06, p. 97.

there is a stone cell called Pippala Cave where Buddha was accustomed to sit in meditation after his midday meal."

Yuan Chwang is more definite and says "To the west of the hot springs is the Pippala Stone House". The identification is therefore undoubtedly correct.

The structure takes the form of a large rectangular platform 22 to 28 feet high, and measuring 85 feet north to south by 81 feet east to west. It is built of large unhewn blocks of stone carefully set in position without any mortar and contains several small irregularly-shaped cells on all sides. There are six of these cells on the north side (one is broken), two on the east, one on the south and one on the west. They are all about 6 to 7 feet long, 3 to 4 feet wide and some four feet high. Their roofs and inner ends are curved; and the cell on the southern side has a sky-light in the roof which is partly covered over with stones.

Both the Samyutta Nikaya[1] and the commentary on Dhammapada[2] describe the Pippala Cave as the residence of Mahākāśyapa, afterwards the president of the First Buddhist Council; and it is said that on one occasion when he "was lying in Pippala Guhā in great mental and bodily suffering, the Lord, after rising from solitary meditation in the afternoon, repaired to the place where Mahākāśyapa was". In this connection it is of interest to note that behind the present stone structure there was a large natural cave of which the roof had fallen in when seen by the author of the L.A.M.B. in 1895. From its association with Buddha and Kāśyapa, the Pippala Stone House would appear to be the earliest structural building in India of which the date is approximately known. And it is more than probable that, as Sir John Marshall states, this structure may have been an ordinary watch-tower and that the small chambers near its base were originally constructed as shelters for the guards; and that in aftertimes, when no longer required for defensive purposes, it afforded convenient cells for ascetics to meditate in. Its walls, like those of the rectangular bastions built on to the outer City walls of Old Rājgīr, have a slight batter.

On the top of the structure, in the centre, are four Muhammadan graves on a brick platform (27 feet square) with traces of several others around it.

(*g*) None. (*h*) The north-east corner had fallen down carrying a small cell with it, but it has now been built up again.

(*j*) A.S.R. (1905-06) 89-90, 93, 99 and pl. XXXII; C.S.R., III, 141-42 and pl. XLI. (*k*) 2418.

No. 43.—(*a*) Mahādeva Mandir.

(*b*) On the Vaibhāra-giri to the south of Dhanpat Bābū's modern Jaina temple; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and others of Ḥusainābād. (*d*) III; (*e*) Late Mediæval.

(*f*) The temple consists of a small sanctum, 11 ft. 5 ins. square internally, and a brick enclosure in front. The sanctum appears to be the only portion of

[1] Samyutta Nikaya, Vol. III, p. 54 (Pali Text Society).

[2] Commentary on Dhammapada, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 427 (Pali Text Society).

the original structure now left. It has a flat roof of stone flags supported on stone beams and brackets resting on four lofty pillars of granite, which are square at the base, octagonal in the middle and square again near the top. Twelve similar pillars—four on each side—are built into the brick walls of the sanctum, which enshrines a small *liṅga* fixed in the usual *yonī* in the centre, and a headless figure of Śiva's bull to its east. The door lintel is relieved with simple mouldings, and the lower portions of the door-jambs are carved with two female figures, one of which probably represents the goddess Gaṅgā. The *Sikhara* of the temple has long disappeared.

The brick enclosure to east of the shrine is a modern restoration erected for the preservation of the granite pillars which supported the roof of the hall and porch in front of the temple. These pillars are roughly dressed and are square up to a height of 3 ft. 3 ins., octagonal above, and square again near the top. They are about 12 feet high and decrease in thickness as they rise, being 1 ft. 2 ins. square at the base and 10 ins. square at the top. They are arranged in six rows of five each and some of them are kept in position by modern brick walls. The enclosure in front of the temple is about 28 feet square.

The monument is not maintained by the Archæological Department.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Fair. (*j*) Nil. (*k*) 2419.

No. 44.—(*a*) Sculpture shed in an old brick enclosure, the ruins of a Jaina Temple.

(*b*) On the Vaibhāra-giri between the Mahādeva temple and Dhanpat Bābū's Jaina Temple; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II*a*; (*e*) Late Mediæval.

(*f*) Lying between the Mahādeva Mandir and Dhanpat Bābū's Jaina temple in an old and ruined brick enclosure, is a small shed with the following sculptures of the Late Mediæval period:—

1. (?) Buddha (ht. 4 ft.) seated in the attitude of meditation on a lotus throne supported by lions. Wheel on pedestal. Well-draped female (Māyā ?) wearing ornaments reclines on a couch under the *siṁhāsana*, *chaurī* bearers below and *gandharvas* above with garlands, cymbals and drums.
2. Similar (?) Buddha figure (ht. 3 ft.) on a *siṁhāsana*. Among the accessory figures are seen *chaurī* bearers below, Dhyānī Buddhas in the middle and *gandharvas* above. Wheel on the pedestal. Badly damaged.
3. Similar figure (ht. 3 ft.) seated on a lotus throne, which is supported by bulls instead of lions. Hair combed back and tied in a knot at the top and partly falling on shoulders. Curious symbol on the breast. Wheel on the pedestal, which also bears an inscription reading "*Āchārya Vasantanander dedharmo-yaṁ*", meaning "the pious gift of the teacher Vasanta Nandi".

4. Figure (ht. 2 ft. 4 ins.) in two pieces, of a goddess seated in the easy posture (*lalitāsana*) on a lotus throne supported by lions. She is well draped, wears ornaments and holds a child in her lap. Branches of mango tree with fruit hang over her head, and a *dhyānī* Buddha attended by two standing figures in monastic robes is seated above. Traces of attendants with drums and cymbals above the *dhyānī* Buddha.
5. Architectural stone with a small defaced figure of a haloed man.
6. Pedestal with legs of a (?) Jaina figure seated in meditation on a lotus throne supported by bulls. On the pedestal two seated female figures—one four-armed and in meditation, and the other kneeling in the attitude of prayer. Inscription on pedestal reads :—*Devadharmo-yam Thirokasya,* " meaning the pious gift of Thiroka ". The characters appear to belong to the north-eastern alphabet of the 11th Century A. D.

In the wall of the brick enclosure round the shed are small rectangular niches, five of which contain figures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. Two of the figures with an elephant or lion on the pedestal are canopied by seven-headed serpent hoods and probably represent Pāraśvanātha. Of the remaining three the largest is 4 feet high, and depicts a wheel flanked by conch-shells on the pedestal. Some of the attendants carry bows and spears. The two smaller figures are shown as in meditation, with elephants above the shoulders.

(*g*) Two votive inscriptions noticed above. (*h*) Fair. (*j*) Nil. (*k*) 2420.

No. 45.—(*a*) The Sattapaṇṇi Hall.

(*b*) Uncertain ; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and others of Ḥusainābād ; (*d*) IIc ; (*e*) 5th Century B.C.

(*f*) " The identification of the Sattapaṇṇi Hall, in which the first Buddhist council was reputed to have been held, and which acquired such fame in the annals of Buddhism, has been the subject of more writing than anything else connected with Rājagṛiha." The first in the field to attack the problem was General Cunningham, who located the Hall at the Sonbhandār cave (No. 39). But as all the old authorities agree that the Sattapaṇṇi Hall was situated on the northern face of the Vaibhāra-giri, while the Sonbhandār cave is excavated in the southern face of that hill, General Cunningham's identification is obviously impossible. The next identification was hazarded by Mr. Beglar, who proposed to locate it at a spot on the hill-side a little less than a mile south-west of the Pippala House (No. 42) where he found some natural fissures in the rock facing west. Unfortunately, no one since Beglar's day has been able to trace the recesses in the rock described by him ! In 1899 the question was taken up by Dr. (now Sir Aurel) Stein, who made a brief visit to Rājgīr in the course of a tour through south Bihār and Hazārībāgh. The caves which Dr. Stein fixed upon as the traditional

site of the Sattapaṇṇi Hall are situated in the rocky scarp of Vaibhāra-giri just below the Jaina temple of Ādināth, which is also known as Añdhariā Dhañdariā. Originally there were seven of these caves, all contained in a semi-circular bend of the rock, but only four of them are still well preserved, and these include the two large caves described by Dr. Stein. A pathway which descends the rugged northern scarp of the ridge to a level of about 100 feet below the temple leads to a long artificial terrace in front of the caves. Part of this pathway is paved with stones and looks like a causeway 6 feet wide. The caves are spaced at a distance of about 50 feet from each other. That to the east is 55 feet deep, 12 feet high and 16 feet broad; the other to west is 47 feet deep, 25 feet across at its widest and 10 or 11 feet high.

The terrace in front of the caves is 120 feet long, 34 feet wide at the east and 12 feet at the west extremity. The wall marking the outer edge of the terrace is constructed of large unhewn stones set without any mortar. Only a small section of it, about 15 feet long and 8 feet high, now remains *in situ*.

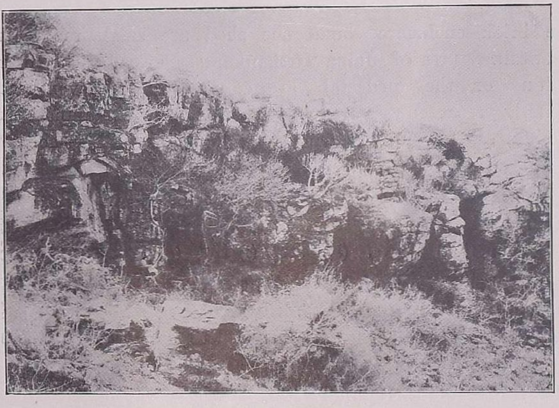


FIG. 84.—Sattapaṇṇi Caves(?) in the Vaibhāra-giri, Rājgīr.

Many of the Buddhist pilgrims to Rājgīr visit these caves, which are locally known as the Satharnī—obviously a corruption of an old name Sattapaṇṇi or Sataparni. The terrace in front of the caves, however, is rather small; and a magnificent hall such as is described in Buddhist annals could not possibly have been erected in the small space it provides. Moreover, the Ādināth caves are reached by climbing up to the summit of Mount Vaibhāra and then descending by a narrow footway over the edge of the cliff. But neither in Fa Hian's nor in Yuan Chwang's account "is there anything to suggest that they climbed to the top of the Vaibhāra Hill in order to reach the Sattapaṇṇi Hall." On these grounds Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archæology in India, has traversed Dr. Stein's identification.

Sir John Marshall suggests that the building mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims under the name of Sattapaṇṇi was not a cave but a structural hall (a view shared by Mr. Fergusson and Dr. Burgess), and locates the Hall about a mile and a half west of the Pippala House, on the north side of the Vaibhāra Hill. "Walking along the north face of Vaibhāra-giri" he says "from the Pippala House towards the west, there is no sign, on the steep hill-sides,

of any accessible plateau on which room could possibly be found for such a building; but at a distance of a little over a mile—corresponding to the "5 or 6 *li*" of the Chinese travellers—the hill puts out a small spur, shown at *d* on Plate XXIX,[1] and at *m* on Plate XXXV. This spur was covered with jungle when I first visited it, but it was easy to see that the top had been artificially built up and levelled, that broad ramps had been made on each side to give approach to it, and that there were remains of massive walls around the edges of the plateau. Later on, I had the jungle cut down, and examined the floor of the plateau by sinking shallow trenches. This examination disclosed the fact that there was a definite line of demarcation running across the plateau from east to west, the area to the north of it being paved with a layer of small pebbles approximately 2 ins. thick, laid on a bed of clay 5 ins. thick. This area, in the front part of the plateau, we may take to have been an unroofed space in front of the building which lay back against the hill side. On the sides of the platform and along its front face are the remains of walling of great unhewn blocks, similar to that found in the Pippala Stone House and in the fortifications of the ancient city. But the heaps of huge tumbled-down stones concealing much of the site make it impossible to determine what precisely was the size or shape of the old building; and it would, of course, be mere waste of time to hazard surmises as to the arrangement or construction of the interior. This much, however, is obvious, that the ruins are those of a large and spacious structure, belonging to a pre-historic date, and that it needed no faith on the part of the Chinese travellers to believe that this was the building where the first Council was held. Whether such a council ever was held, and whether it took place at this spot, are questions apart; that this was the traditional site of it pointed out to the Chinese travellers need not for a moment be doubted.

No small antiquities came to light here except a spindle-whorl and a small toothed wheel of copper."

On the top of the plateau may be traced the outer stone walls of a large building measuring about 250 feet long and 120 feet broad. It is open to surmise that the Sattapaṇṇi Hall might have been named after the caves.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Both the plateau and the entrances of the Ādināth caves are covered with jungle (*j*) Fergusson's Cave Temples, 49, note 2; I.A. XXX (1901), 58-59; C.S.R. VIII, 140-44; A.S.R., (1905-06), 97-100. (*k*) 2591.

No. 46.—(*a*) Karaṇḍa—Veṇuvana and Karaṇḍa-hrada, etc.

(*b*) Between the Inspection Bungalow and the hot springs, at the foot of the Vaibhāra-giri; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī K͟hān and others of Ḥusainābād; (*d*) III, (*e*) Buddha's time (563-483 B.C.).

(*f*) The Karaṇḍa Bamboo Garden, which was given by King Bimbisāra to Buddha, is said to have been situated on the west of the road at a dis-

[1] *Vide* A.S.R., 1905-6; reproduced herewith as Plate II.

tance of one *li* or 300 paces to the north of the outer north gate of the city.

"Measuring this distance through the defile," says Sir John Marshall, "we come to the open ground on the left of the road, where gardens still exist, well watered by the stream and the perennial springs from above. Here was the entrance to the Bamboo Garden, which would, no doubt, occupy a considerable area of the ground. The approximate extent of the garden is indicated on the sketch map, fig. I.[1] Towards its northern limit is a large mound of dèbris, marking the site of a number of ruined structures, and it is not improbable that the *vihāra* seen by Fa Hian and Yuan Chwang lies buried beneath it. The mound has a circuit of 770 ft., and rises to a height of some 27 ft. above the level of the channel to the west of it. Its top is occupied by the grave of a Moslem saint and some other tombs to the south of it, the presence of which precluded any attempt to excavate the site at all thoroughly. A few trial trenches, however, were dug by Dr. Bloch around the large grave and on the eastern slope of the mound. The former brought to light the foundations of a room and the bases of nine brick stūpas surrounded by a concrete floor, about 6 ft. below the level of the grave. All the stūpas were opened, but were found to contain nothing but jars filled with earth. The trenches on the east slope of the mound revealed no structures, but some

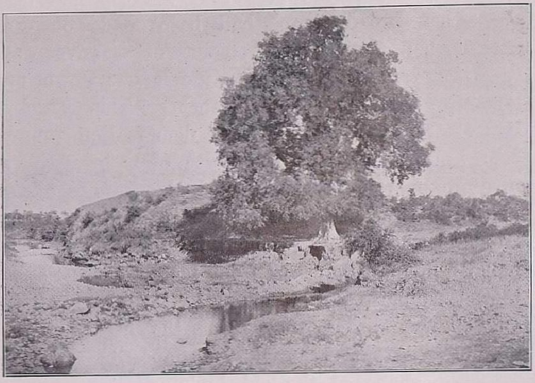


FIG. 85.—Site of Veṇuvana (Bamboo Garden), Rājgīr.

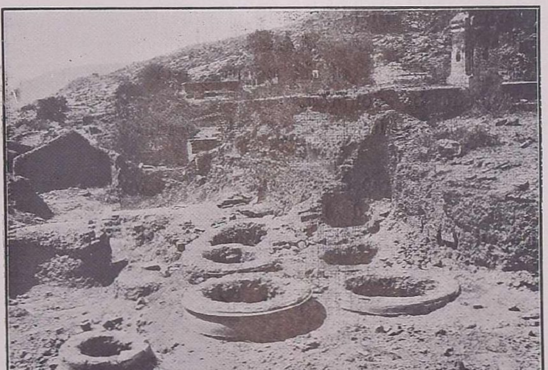


FIG. 86.—Bases of small stūpas discovered in the ancient mound in Veṇuvana, Rājgīr.

[1] *Vide* A. S. R., 1905-06.

clay tablets impressed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the tenth or eleventh century were recovered and also the following antiquities:—

(1) Fragment of a sculpture representing the lower half of an image of a Bodhisattva, seated cross-legged on a lotus throne. On the pedestal appear two female figures—one sitting cross-legged with clasped hands, the other kneeling—and the Buddhist formula, *Ye dharma*, etc., in the characters of the 10th or 11th century A. D.

(2) An imperfect stone pedestal, 2½ ins. high. Two of the faces, which now remain, are adorned with niches enclosing figures of Buddha in the *dharma-chakra mudrā*.

(3) A similar fragment carved with bas-reliefs of a male human figure, a horse with a rider, and a wheel.

(4) Another fragmentary pedestal bearing representations of an elephant, a *chakra*, a horse, and a large bird (?)

(5) A portion of a sculpture representing the heads of Śiva and his consort Gaurī.

(6) A small cone of clay with a spiral ornament."[1]

Karaṇḍa Tank.

Yuan Chwang informs us that the Karaṇḍa tank lay 200 paces to the north of the Veṇuvana-vihāra. "Now, north of the garden, in the position indicated, there is a deep tank of ancient date, but with only thick black mire at the bottom, at any rate in winter time. This tank there is every reason to identify with the Karaṇḍa-hrada; indeed, there is no other tank which we could identify with it; and if we measure off some two hundred paces to the south of it, in order to obtain the northern boundary of the Bamboo Garden, we shall find that the latter must have been some 250 yards long from north to south."[2]

The tank is situated about 200 yards south of the Inspection Bungalow, and measures 290 ft. north to south by 220 ft. east to west, within the high banks on three of its sides.

(*g*) None. (*h*) The old Bamboo Garden has long disappeared. The tank is in a good condition. (*j*) A.S.R. (1905-06), 93-6; C.S.R. III, pl. XLI. (*k*) Nil.

No. 47.—(*a*) Maniyār Maṭh.

(*b*) About the centre of the Old City of Rājgīr; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II*a*; (*e*) The stucco figures at the base, which have now for the most part disappeared, were assigned by the late Dr. Bloch to the period of Gupta predominance, *viz.*, circa 350 to 500 A.D.

(*f*) The name "Maniyār Maṭh" was originally applied to a small Jaina shrine built on the top of an artificial brick mound (19 ft. 8 ins. high) near the centre of the hill-enclosed plain of Old Rājagṛiha. Believing that the mound probably represented an old Buddhist stūpa and in the hope of securing the possible relics, General Cunningham in 1861-62 sank a shaft near the *Math*,

[1] A.S.R. (1905-06), pp. 93-5.
[2] A.S.R. (1905-6), pp. 95-6.

with a gradual inclination towards the centre. He discovered, however, that the core of the mound was a mere mass of rubbish, filling a well 10 feet in diameter. Without destroying the *Maṭh* at the top, the General went down to a depth of $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the well, and recovered three small figures 19 feet from the surface. One of them represented in its lower portion Māyā lying on a couch, the ascetic Buddha being portrayed above; the second was a naked standing figure with a seven-headed serpent hood, probably Pāraśvanāth; and the third was too crude to be identified.

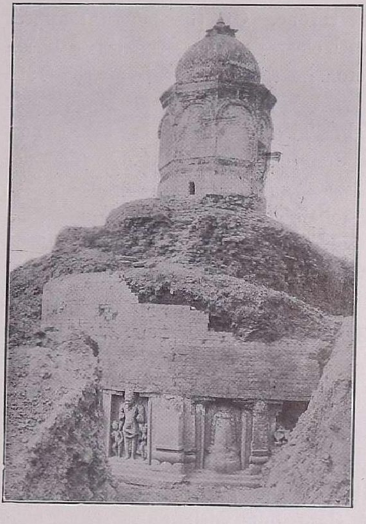


FIG. 87.—Maniyār Maṭh, during excavation, Rājgīr.

General Cunningham's examination of the mound was, however, a somewhat casual one; and in the cold season of 1905-06, Dr. Bloch of the Archæological Department commenced excavation of the mound by digging a trench from the east. He exposed a massive masonry structure—that which is now covered by a conical roof of corrugated iron sheets—containing well-preserved stucco figures

FIG. 88.—Stucco figure of deity (Śiva ?) on the base of the Maniyār Maṭh, Rājgīr.

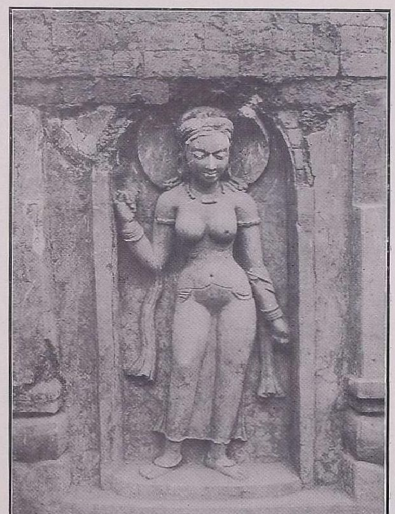


FIG. 89.—Stucco figure of a *Nāgī* on the base of the Maniyār Maṭh, Rājgīr.

around the base. The sculptures were about 2 feet high and included (1) a Liṅga bearing a garland of flowers and standing on a circular base of the shape of a flower pot, (2) a crowned, four armed, figure with the upper hands cut off, standing on rocks, (3) a Nāgī and five Nāgas canopied by serpent hoods; (4) Gaṇeśa seated on rocks with cobras twisted around his body, and (5) a nude six-armed Śiva dancing, bearing a cobra and arrayed in a tiger skin.

It is unfortunate that, despite the corrugated shelter erected to preserve them, these important figures (perhaps the earliest stucco figures in the province of Bihār) have all disappeared through disintegration, with the exception of a much-damaged image of Gaṇeśa. Figure 88 supposed to depict Bāṇāsura, whose name occurs in Hindū mythology in connection with the Krishṇa legends, was perhaps the most interesting. Krishṇa once fought with him, because he had refused the hand of his beautiful daughter Ushā to a grandson of the divine hero, and it was in this fight that Bāṇāsura lost two of his hands. "Now," says Dr. Bloch, "considering the intimate connection that exists between the Krishṇa legend and Old Rājagṛiha, it is perhaps not too hazardous to suggest that the building unearthed, situated almost right in the centre of the old city, was some kind of *Pantheon of Rājagṛiha*, and that the various figures of *nāgas* and *nāgīs* represent certain serpent-deities, whom popular religion worshipped at distinct places on the surrounding hills. The fact that some of the divinities have been represented as inhabiting hills, to which we have drawn special attention in the list above, fits well into this argument. Old ruined temples of Gaṇeśa and Śiva (Mahādeva) still remain on Vaibhāragiri, and it is merely owing to our imperfect knowledge of Hindū Mythology that we have been constrained to describe the six serpent-deities in the list merely as *nāgas* or *nāgīs*, without calling them by their proper names. One among them very likely is the *nāga Maṇikāra*, whose name still survives in the modern word *Maniyār maṭh*, by which the locality now goes."

Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Archæology, disagrees with Dr. Bloch as to the character of this unique monument, and is inclined to regard it as a colossal *Liṅga*. As a parallel, he points to the colossal *Liṅga* at Fatehgarh, near Bāramūla, in Kashmīr, which is also decorated with figures carved in relief around it.

"Later tradition looked upon the building as a well in which was hidden the wealth of some mythical king. *Maṇikāra* had been appointed the guardian of this treasure-house, and the Hindūs accordingly worshipped him here, while the Jainas set up a shrine to Śālibhadra, of whom they tell us that he buried his treasures inside a well. This tradition very likely is not far from the truth. We may well imagine that the old temple, whose date, on account of the style of the stucco-figures around its base, we put within the flourishing time of the reign of the early Gupta kings, say between 350 and 500 A. D., was erected at a place where popular tradition told of treasure hidden by one of the mythical kings of Rājagṛiha. The great prevalence of *nāgas* among the

guardian figures around the temple points distinctly to this. For, as we need scarcely mention, in India as elsewhere, the serpent gods keep watch over wealth concealed below the earth."

This curious monument was composed of two concentric walls. Originally there was the inner walling only, with perhaps a low platform around it; the outer wall being added at some subsequent date when the ground around the original structure had risen. The foundations of this outer wall rested upon the old platform, which was slightly raised for the purpose. It was built with receding courses and was left rough on the interior.

The inner structure, which is all but intact and is now covered by a conical roof of corrugated-iron sheets, contains a hollow space in the middle 10 ft. 3 ins. in diameter enclosed by walls 5 ft. 6 ins. thick. *The portion decorated with stucco figures forms the only extant part of the original building. The upper portion is evidently a later repair.* This is indicated by the facts that the bricks used in its construction are larger than those used in the lower portion and that the upper masonry rests directly on the heads of some of the stucco figures, breaking into the curve of the niche below. Further, the unfinished pilasters between the niches containing these figures also end abruptly just at the level of the figures. The remains of these pilasters, moreover, vary in height, measuring between 3 ft. 3 ins. and 3 ft. 9 ins. and indications of the projecting string cornice which one would expect to find surmounting them are lacking. The heightened platform on which the outer concentric wall was subsequently built (in order to change the building into a large stūpa or linga) is, again, high enough to have covered the stucco figures, and was evidently added at the same time as the outer envelope of the monument.

(*g*) An inscription dated Samvat 1837=(1781 A.D.), engraved on the small image of a seated Nāga was found by Dr. Bloch in 1905-06 on pulling down the modern ruined shrine which stood on the top of the mound, concealing the present structure, and which was popularly known as the Maniyār Maṭh. It reads as follows:—

Samvat 1837 Varṣemāse māhaśudi 5 tad-dine śrī-Osvālavaṁśe vīrānī-gotre Kesodāsa tasya Motulālakasya bhāryyā bībī satābo (Sic) *Rājagāhe nāgasya sālibhadrajīkasya charaṇa sthāpita.*

Translation.

"On the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Māgh in Samvat 1837, was set up the *charaṇapādukā* (footprint) of the nāga Śalibhadra at Rājagāha (Rājagṛiha) by Bībī Satābo (Shitābo ?) the wife of Motu Lāl, who was the son of Keśavadasa of the Vīrāni Gotra, a scion of the Osavāla family".

(*h*) As already remarked, the stucco figures which once decorated the base of the structure have totally disappeared, except for a damaged figure of Gaṇeśa; but the remainder of the monument is in a fair structural condition.

(*j*) A.S.R. (1905-06), 103-5; C.S.R., I, 26; A.S.R., E.C., (1905-06), 14-15. (*k*) Nos. 391 to 402, 483 to 486, 2216.

No. 48—(*a*) New Rājgīr.

(*b*) North and north-east of the Inspection Bungalow, Rājgīr; (*c*) Nawwāb Dilāwar 'Alī Khān of Ḥusainābād and others, (*d*) IIc; (*e*) The new fort is believed to have been founded by Bimbisāra and finished by Ajātaśatru (*circa* 491-59 B.C.).

(*f*) Outside the northern entrance of the hill-enclosed valley of Girivraj, and about two-thirds of a mile therefrom, was situated New Rājgīr, the city of Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru. According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton (who has been followed by Cunningham and others) the town resembled an irregular pentagon in shape, had a circuit of nearly 3 miles, and was protected by a massive wall of heavy stone masonry. These stone walls have almost totally disappeared and all there is now to be seen of New Rājgīr are some ruined stone walls and earthen ramparts of a fortress to south of the Inspection Bungalow. The fort which probably formed the citadel of the New Town, resembles a trapezoid in shape and occupies an area of some 70 to 80 acres. It is situated on high ground and is surrounded by huge earthen ramparts 15 to 30 feet high above the neighbouring fields, and 60 to 110 feet wide at the base. The longest side is the northern, which measures 2,250 feet; the shortest the eastern, which is only 1,275 feet. Originally, no doubt, the earthen ramparts were strengthened with massive stone walls. Such stone walls can be easily traced along the whole east side, and in the eastern half of the north and south sides. They are constructed of massive unhewn blocks of stone set without any mortar, the core consisting of smaller blocks with river flints, etc., in the interstices. The walls vary from 14 ft. 9 ins. to 18 ft. 6 ins. in thickness and stand to a height of 11 feet in certain places, the greater part of the height being buried in the earthen ramparts. On the outside the walls were further strengthened by semi-circular bastions built at short irregular intervals. Including the corner bastions, which are somewhat larger, 17 bastions can be counted; of these 8 are on the east, 6 on the south, and 3 on the north.

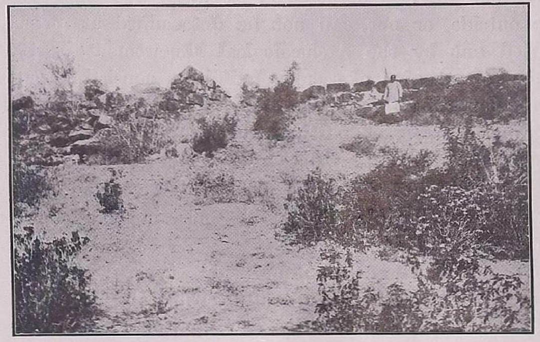


FIG. 90.—New Fort: South side wall near the Dāk bungalow, Rājgīr.

The northern rampart is strewn with brick-bats, from which it has been inferred that the parapets of the stone walls on that side were made of bricks. On the west side, where the earthen ramparts are the highest, there are no traces of any stone walls, but there is a large gap near the south-west corner where there are some remnants of a stone wall which conceivably formed part of a gateway or, may be, of a drain. There are several gaps in the fort walls

on the east, north and west, but it is not possible to say which of them, if any, served as gateways. In the south wall, however, to west of the large gap through which runs the modern road from Rājgīr to the hot springs, there are the remains of what must certainly have been a gateway. The walls which once formed its jambs are still standing to a height of 2 to 3 feet. The passage is 11 ft. 3 ins. wide, and on either side of it are two semi-circular bastions built in the usual way. Whether the gateway was approached by a flight of steps on the outside, or not, can not be determined at present.

In the excavations carried out by the Archæological Department in 1906, New Rājgīr yielded a medley of remains of secular buildings consisting partly of bricks and partly of irregular thin flakes of stone. In one of the dwelling houses was found a granary made of earthen rings, and close to it an ancient well built of wedge-shaped bricks. Of the few small antiquities recovered among the ruins the following may be mentioned :—

(1) Two clay tablets bearing illegible Brāhmī legends in characters of the 1st or 2nd century B.C.
(2) One square copper coin of the "punch-marked" type.
(3) Six copper coins of the "cast" pattern, all bearing an elephant on the obverse and a 'tree surrounded by a railing' on the reverse.
(4) Some Muhammadan coins.
(5) A silver bangle.
(6) Brass statuette of Bāla-Krishṇa, crawling.
(7) Inscribed Gupta Seal.
(8) and some fragments of Buddhist sculptures and broken terracottas.

The thick stone ramparts around the city were followed in certain places down to a considerable depth, when the stones became smaller and smaller ending at last in a layer of rubble. It was found that lime plaster was used to cover the intervals between the stones.

West of New Rājgīr is the old cemetery or "burning-ghat", and close to it a large mound marking the site of the stūpa of Aśoka, both of which are mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims.

(*g*) None on surface. (*h*) All the remains unearthed during the excavations have disappeared now, owing to the depredations of the villagers. Stones and bricks are being constantly removed from the ramparts and from the remains buried in the high areas enclosed within these walls.

(*j*) Dist. Gazet., Patna, 218-221 ; A.S.R. (1905-06), 101-03 ; (1913-14), 268 ; Martin's Eastern India, I, 86-88 ; A.S.R. E.C., (1905-06), 14-15 ; C.S.R., I, 23-24. (*k*) 407-10, 421, 481-82, 2416, 2417.

SHAHABAD DISTRICT.

Arrah.

No. 49.—(*a*) The Arrah House.

(*b*) About 100 feet to the south of the Judge's Residence ; (*c*) The Rājā of Dumrāon ; (*d*) II a ; (*e*) Probably the latter half of the 18th or first half of the 19th century A.D.

(*f*) The Arrah House is a small two-storied structure 51 feet square in plan. The lower storey consists of two oblong rooms (27 ft. 9 ins. by 8 ft. 9 ins. each) in the middle enclosed by a verandah with five circular arches (6 ft. 6 ins. wide) on all sides. The west end of the southern verandah has been converted into two small rooms, and at its east end is a narrow stair leading up to an oblong room in the second storey. A broad stair in the northern verandah also leads up to the second storey, which consists of a spacious hall enclosed by a wide verandah on three sides and with an oblong room at the back or south. Part of the verandah to west of the big hall is occupied by a small bathroom; and a similar bathroom exists at the west end of the oblong room. The latter bathroom also contains a steep and narrow wooden stair giving access to the verandah roof, which is enclosed by a low parapet wall on all sides. From the verandah roof a wooden stair leads up to the roof of the hall and adjoining oblong room, which is some 4 feet higher than the verandah roof. The house was built by Mr. Vicars Boyle, a District Engineer on the East Indian Railway, as a billiard room. At the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny, Mr. Boyle began to fortify and provision the house in anticipation of an attack by the rebels. He also demolished the front parapet of his house, now known as the Judge's Residence, to deprive the enemy of the cover which it afforded. His friends jeered at him while the work was in progress, but had occasion to alter their attitude when, on the 26th of July 1857, news was brought that three of the native regiments had mutinied at Dinapore. The women and children had already been sent to safer places, and the small band of 9 Europeans and 6 Eurasians with one Muhammadan Deputy Collector and 50 Sikhs sent by the Commissioner of Patna, all went into the billiard room and bricked themselves up, Mr. H. C. Wake, the Civil Magistrate, assuming command of the Sikh Police. "Next morning (27th July), about 8 A.M. the small garrison were standing at their posts behind their improvised defences and when the mutineers, after releasing the prisoners in the Jail and plundering the treasury, which contained some 85,000 rupees, advanced to the attack, as to an assured victory, they were hurled back in astonishment and discomfiture by a well-directed fire. From this moment they only ventured to discharge their muskets from behind the cover of the walls and trees that surrounded the

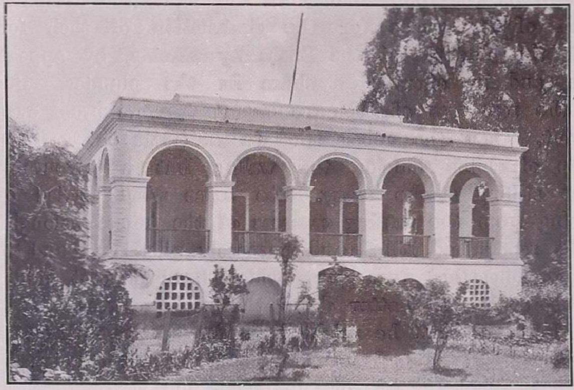


Fig. 91.—The Arrah House, Arrah.

house; and anyone who ventured into the open was sure to be struck down by a bullet from the garrison, who aimed securely from behind the sand-bags which they had thrown up on the roof. Baffled in fair fight, the assailants began to try a succession of stratagems for the destruction of their foe. They strove to corrupt the fidelity of the Sikhs by threats, by appeals to their religious feelings, and by offers of a share in the plunder. But the Sikhs, confident in the resources of their commandant, were proof even against this last argument. Then the rebels tried to suffocate the garrison by setting on fire a heap of chillis outside the walls; but a favourable wind arose and blew the stifling smoke away. The same wind carried off the disgusting stench arising from the rotting carcases of the horses belonging to the garrison, which the rebels had killed and purposely piled up round the house. Finally, Kuar Singh unearthed two guns, which he had kept hidden ready for emergency and prepared to batter down the little fortress. If he had had a good supply of ammunition, he might have forced the garrison to attempt to cut their way out; but he had no round shot at first (though he afterwards procured some 4 lb. shot for one of the guns), and was obliged to use the brass castors belonging to the pianos and sofas in Boyle's house as projectiles."

"The small defending force was in a desperate plight. A relieving party of about 400 men, who were sent by water from Dinapore, fell into an ambuscade when they had almost reached Arrah. This was on the 30th of July; and as time passed away and no help arrived, provisions and water began to run short. However, a bold midnight sally resulted in the capture of 4 sheep; and water was obtained by digging a well inside the house. A mine of the enemy was met by countermining. On the 31st the rebels offered the Sikhs and the women and children (of which there were none with the defenders) their lives and liberty if they would give up the Government officers. On August the 1st the defenders were all offered their lives and leave to go to Calcutta if they would give up their arms. On the 2nd August the besieged party observed an unusual excitement in the neighbourhood. The fire of the enemy had slackened and but few of them were visible. The sound of a distant cannonade was heard. Before sunset the siege was at an end and on the following morning the gallant garrison welcomed their deliverers Major Vincent Eyre with 150 men of the 5th Fusiliers, a few mounted volunteers, and 3 guns with 34 artillerymen."

"The blockade had lasted 8 days, during which the little band of Europeans and Sikhs had held out against 2,000 sepoys from Dinapore and a multitude of armed insurgents about four times as numerous. They were reduced to the last straits, and to quote Vincent Eyre's account:—The relief of the garrison proved to have been most opportune, for their position had been so effectually mined that a few hours' delay must have ensured their destruction. The position which they had so miraculously defended against the three mutineer regiments, aided by Kuar Singh's levies, was a small upper-roomed house of substantial masonry belonging to Mr. Boyle, by whose skill it had been

fortified and provisioned in anticipation of some such crisis. But the strongest position is of little avail where stout hearts and an efficient leader are wanting to defend it, and, in the present case, such hearts and such a leader were forthcoming. To Mr. Wake, as Civil Magistrate of Arrah, who possesses in a rare degree some of the highest qualities of a soldier, no less than to the unflinching fortitude with which his able efforts were supported by his brave associates, may be attributed the salvation of the garrison. During eight days and nights they were incessantly harassed, and so closely watched that not a loophole could be approached with safety. At one period their water failed, and they owned their supply to the prompt energy of the Sikhs, who in one night, contrived with most inefficient tools to dig a well on the ground floor, twenty feet deep, whereby abundance of good water was obtained. During the last three or four days their position had been rendered doubly perilous by the fire of some guns of small calibre, which the enemy had mounted within fifty yards of the house, the walls of which were perforated by their balls in all directions. The defence of Arrah may be considered one of the most remarkable feats in Indian History."

(*g*) Over the central doorway of the Billiards Hall in the upper storey is fixed a large marble slab containing the following English inscription in 12 lines :—

"This building was the scene of the memorable defence of Arrah by a party consisting of nine Europeans, six Eurasians, three Indians and fifty Sikh Police, from July 27th to August 2nd 1857, against three regiments of the native army who had mutinied at Dinapore. The names of the principal defenders were Messrs. Littledale, Coombe, Wake, Colvin, Halls, Field, Anderson, Boyle, Dacosta, Godfrey, Cock, Taite, Delpieroux, Houle, De-Souza, Sayid Azimud Din Hussain, Jamadar Hukum Singh. In order that the memory of this heroic action may not be lost, this tablet is placed here by Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in 1903."

(ii) Inside the Billiard room over the fireplace in the south wall is another small tablet of marble bearing the following inscription of 6 lines in English :—

"This tablet has been erected to commemorate the visit of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor George V to the Arrah House on the 17th December 1911."

(*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, pp. 127-30, 165-9 ; L. A. M. B. 342—3 ; C. M. & S. Hist. of India, III, 645 (Sketch of the Arrah House). (*k*) 1699 to 1703.

Buxar (Kathkauli).

No. 50—(*a*) Tombs of Shujā' Qulī Khān and Ghulām Qādir Khān.

(*b*) On a brick platform overhung by a large banyan tree in the village of Kathkaulī, some 4 miles east of Buxar ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) 1177 A.H.—1764 A.D.

(*f*) The graves of Shaikh Muḥammad 'Īsa, surnamed Shujā' Qulī Khān, and Sayyid Ghulām Qādir are situated on a common brick platform at the foot of a large banyan tree. Shujā' Qulī's grave is towards the west, the other

to the east; and each measures 4 ft. 3 ins. long and 3 ft. 4 ins. wide. The graves have been recently repaired in cement, and a solid brick enclosure, about 6 feet high, has been constructed around them.

Both G͟hulām Qādir and S͟hujā' Qulī were killed in the battle of Buxar fought between the English and the 'Nawāb Vizir' of Oudh in 1764 A.D.

S͟hujā' Qulī K͟hān commanded the centre of the Nawāb's army at the head of 6,000 Mughal troops, and G͟hulām Qādir was in support of Rājā Benī Bahādur (the Nawab's Deputy Sūbadār of Oudh and Allahabad), who commanded the left wing. The English army was being hard pressed, and Major Munro, realising the critical position, despatched a corps under Captain Nan to make a flanking movement from the river-side, in order to attack the Nawāb's left wing from behind. The corps, quite unobserved, reached a ruined wall behind the Indian troops, and G͟hulām Qādir and his kinsmen only learnt of the manœuvre when the English opened fire on them. G͟hulām Qādir was amongst the first to be killed; and the battle raged so furiously on this side that S͟hujā' Qulī's jealousy was aroused. Thinking that the booming of cannons proceeded from the Rājā's army, and that the Rājā would soon achieve the honour of victory, he precipitately sallied forth from his position, advanced across the front of Sumroo and Madac, who in consequence had to suspend their cannonade, and waded through the marshy *jhīl*, deep in mud. The English artillery promptly opened fire on his army, and S͟hujā' Qulī and his men, bereft of the cover of their own artillery, sacrificed their lives to no purpose.

(*g*) On the top of S͟hujā' Qulī K͟hān's grave is a stone tablet bearing a Persian-Arabic inscription of 6 lines engraved in Nask͟h characters, which reads as follows:—

(۱) هوالباقي و کل شئ هالک (۲) هذا قبر مغفور مبرور (۳) شهید سعید شیخ محمد
(۴) عیسی مخاطب به شجا عقلیخان (۵) اللهم اغفره ولجمیع المومنین (۶) سنه یکهزار و یکصد و
و هفتاد هفت ۱۱۷۷

Translation.

"He alone is Eternal and all other things are mortal. This is the grave of the fortunate martyr S͟haik͟h Muhammad 'Īsā, who had the title of S͟hujā' Qulī K͟hān. O God, forgive him and forgive all believers. Year one thousand one hundred and seventy-seven, 1177."

The inscription on the other grave occupies a similar position and is word for word the same as the above, except for the name of the martyr (in the 4th line) who is called "Sayyid G͟hulām Qādir" (and not "Ghulam Hayder Khan" as mentioned in the Government notification No. 798E, dated the 6th May, 1915).

In the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1913-14 (p. 38), Mr. Blakiston observes that "the tombs are not the original structures—the originals having been destroyed or broken by a gigantic banyan tree, which must have taken root very shortly after their erection. New inscriptions have been set up, the originals having, I believe, been removed

to the Indian Museum." In the L. A. M. B. (1895), the tombs are stated to "contain inscriptions in Arabic with an epitaph in Persian *verse*." This Persian *verse* cannot be traced now. It has been ascertained from the Superintendent, Archæological Section, that the inscriptions are not in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 346; A. S. R., E. C., (1913-14), 38. (*k*) 2438.

Chainpur.

No. 51.—(*a*) Tomb of Bakhtyār Khān.

(*b*) About a mile to west of Chainpur, a small town some 7 miles west of Bhabuā; (*c*) Government; (*d*) I c; (*e*) from its style the building appears to have been erected about the time of Sher Shāh Sūrī.

(*f*) The Mausoleum of Bakhtyār Khān is a close counterpart of the tomb of Ḥasan Khān Sūrī at Sassarām (No. 68), differing from it only in its larger

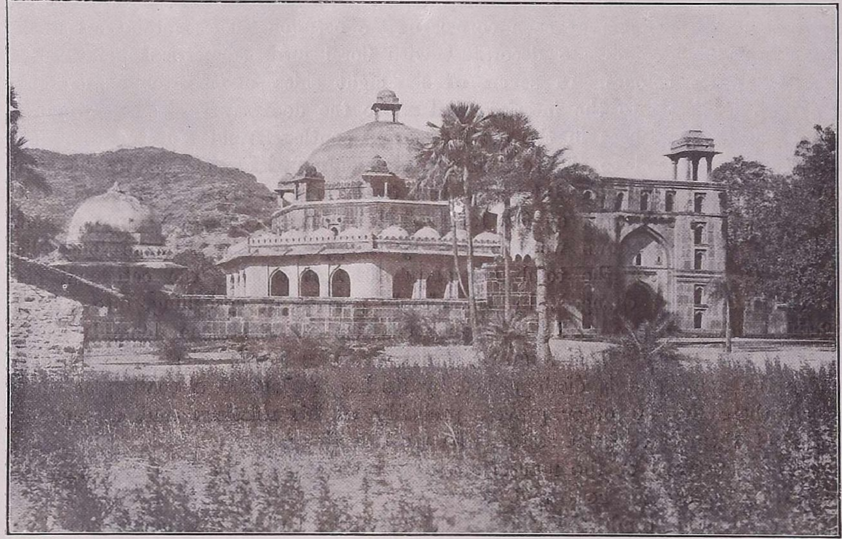


FIG. 92.—Bakhtyār Khān's tomb, Chainpur.

dimensions and in the existence of a cupola on its dome, which replaces the pinnacle on the tomb at Sassaram.

Bakhtyār's Mausoleum stands in the middle of a large courtyard, measuring 288 feet east to west and 230 feet north to south, contained within a parapetted enclosure wall 5 ft. 4 ins. thick. In the north and south sides of the enclosure are two *khiṛkīs* or small doorways; and in the middle of the east wall is a grand arched gateway, two storeys high, crowned by two slender

cupolas, one of which has disappeared. The second storey of the gateway is approached by two narrow staircases and consists of a long chamber with a flat roof of stone slabs resting on beams. In each of the four corners of the enclosure wall is a square chamber surmounted by a dome. The tomb itself stands on a low octagonal platform and is enclosed by a lofty verandah on all sides. The space in front of the tomb is some 50 feet wider than at the remaining three sides, so that the tomb does not occupy the central position in the quadrangle. Including the verandah, the tomb measures 109 feet in diameter. In each side of the verandah, which is 8 feet 4 inches wide, are three lofty arches supporting its roof, which is covered by 24 small domes, three on each side of the octagon. The buttresses of the arches are 5 ft. 2 ins. square, except those at the angles, which are larger. The domes covering the verandah each rest on 4 arches and their soffits are ornamented with paintings in colour. A shallow *chhajja*, recently restored, runs all round the verandah just below the parapets. The tomb proper forms a large octagon 82 feet in diameter and is surmounted by a grand hemispherical dome crowned by a small cupola on 4 pillars, in place of the more usual *kalaśa* and finial. Surrounding the large dome are eight small domes, one at each corner of the octagon. These stand on square pillars and their soffits are decorated with floral and geometrical paintings in red and white colours. In seven of the eight sides of the tomb are arched doorways leading into the interior, and above the doorways are small windows.

From the entrances in the north-east and south-east sides of the tomb two steep staircases lead to the roof of the verandah and further up to the small cupolas at the corners. Internally the tomb has a diameter of 56 feet. In the middle of each side, at the level of the verandah roof, is a large window. Originally these windows were shaded by *chhajjas*, but these have long fallen away. The walls of the tomb are about 13 feet thick. The octagonal plan of the interior is changed, by the simple process of corbelling, into 16- and 32-sided figures above, and finally into a circle on which the dome is reared.

Besides Bak͟htyār K͟hān's grave, which occupies nearly the central position under the dome and is distinguished by its larger size and a coating of whitewash, there are 30 other graves, probably of his relations and descendants. Many of them have been restored in modern times.

The courtyard of the mausoleum contains several palm trees and a number of graves scattered here and there.

Outside the tomb there is a roofless enclosure on the north containing the grave of one Dāūd K͟hān S͟hahīd; while further to west is the well-known tomb of Pīr Āsmān ('Usmān?) S͟hāh, on the other side of a small rivulet named Kohira, which flows between the two mausolea. Still further west, some 200 yards from Bak͟htyār's tomb, is a large detached hill with remains of some tombs on the top.

In Martin's *Eastern India* (1838) the tomb is designated as that of 'Ahtiyar Khan'. In Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XII (1877), the name is spelt as 'Ikhtiyar Khan', and in Dr. Bloch's Report for 1902 as 'Bakhtiyar Khan'. This last name is the one now invariably used by the

local people, who also assert that Bakhtyār's eldest son, Fatḥ Khān, married a daughter of Sher Shāh. What part Bakhtyār Khān played in the history of the Sūrī dynasty it has not been possible to ascertain; but judging from his magnificent mausoleum and from the remains of a fort in the village of Chainpur also ascribed to him, it would appear that he was a personage of high rank, and that Chainpur was probably his *jāgīr*. One Ikhtiyār Khān Pannī is, however, mentioned in Elliot's *History of India* (Vol. IV, p. 417) as in command of Rohtās, where it is said 'there was no regular *fauj* or army, but 10,000 matchlock-men were stationed under Ikhtiyar Khan'. Elliot has obtained the information from the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* of A'bbās Sarwānī, the earliest and the most detailed history of Sher Shāh's reign, written at the command of Akbar. As for Fatḥ Khān, the eldest son of Bakhtyār or Ikhtiyār, the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* mentions one Fatḥ Khān Batnī in command of the fort of Rohtās during the reigns of Sher Shāh and Salīm Shāh. Now the orthography of Pannī and Batnī (= Patanī) is so similar in Persian (بتني - پنني) that they might easily be confused, particularly as the Persian historians are very casual in the matter of dots and diacritical marks. So if both these commanders came from the same town or tribe—it is quite possible that they may have been father and son. More than this, however, we may not surmise regarding the occupants of the great mausoleum at Chainpur.

(*g*) In the *mihrāb* or prayer niche in the west wall of the tomb are the remains of a number of verses from the Qur'ān; and the following Persian verse appears at the bottom to left:—

چه کند بنده [اگر گردن نه] نهد دوران را
چه کند [گوے اگر] تن در نه دهد چوگان را

" What can a man do, but submit to Time (*i.e.*, the ever-changing world with its unalterable Laws of Nature); what indeed can a ball do but to obey the polo-mallet."

(*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B. 372; Martin's Eastern India, 460-1; S. A. B. Vol. XII, p. 214; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 135-6; A. S. R. (1902-03) 57; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 21. (*k*) 190, 191, 1130, 1131, 2436, 2437.

Muṇḍeśvarī.

No. 52.—(*a*) Muṇḍeśvarī Temple—

(*b*) On the summit of a hill, some 600 feet high, close to Rāmgaṛh, a village about 7 miles south-west of Bhabua; (*c*) Bābūs Rām Narāin Singh and Gopāl Narāin Singh of Rāmgaṛh; (*d*) II *c*; (*e*) From an inscription found during the clearance of the temple in 1903-04, it appears that the temple was already in existence in the year 635-36 A.D.

(*f*) The beautiful little temple of Muṇḍeśvarī is built entirely of stone and forms an octagon in plan, both inside and out, with a massive square pillar at each corner. The sides facing the cardinal points are pierced with doors or windows, the remaining four walls being relieved on the outside with three niches each, a large one in the centre and two small ones at the sides.

Externally, the temple measures 40 feet in diameter. The walls, as well as the pillars at the corners flanking the entrances, are relieved with bold mouldings which for the size of the building appear rather too heavy. The bases and capitals of the pilasters flanking the exterior niches are carved with vase and foliage designs, and the lintels above them are ornamented with floral carvings. Above the niches are pediment-shaped shrine-roofs. The images which once adorned these niches have all disappeared.

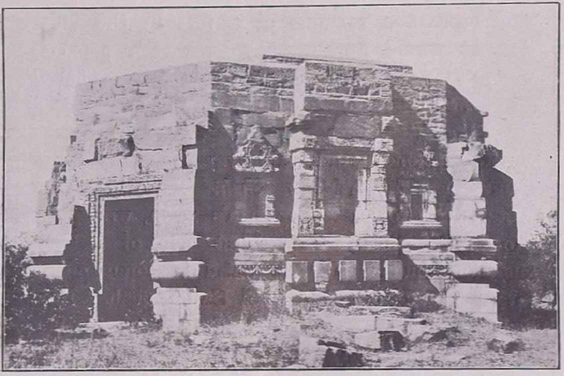


FIG. 93.—Muṇḍeśvarī temple, Rāmgaṛh.

Of the four entrances into the temple, that on the east is closed with a masonry *jālī*. The door jambs and lintels are all carved with exquisite floral designs, and at the bottom of the door jambs stand figures of *dvārapālas* on the south, two figures of Śiva on the west, Gaṅgā and Yamunā (?) on the east, and Durgā and another female figure on the north. Above the *dvārapālas* on the jambs of the southern entrance and also on the lintel are carved a number of human figures engaged in dancing or in playing on various musical instruments.

The principal entrance to the temple had a pillared porch in front of which a few pillars were seen *in situ* by Dr. Bloch in 1902. By 1913 however, when Mr. Blakiston visited the place, these pillars had been dismantled and were no longer to be seen in position.

Inside, the temple is an octagon of 20 feet diameter, the walls being 10 feet thick. In four of the walls are doors or window openings, and in the other four very small niches, probably for lamps. The roof is a recent restoration and consists of stone flags, the central portion resting on beams and lofty pillars which are square at the base and top and octagonal in the middle. The floor is paved with stone slabs and in its centre is a *liṅgaṁ* (4 feet high) with 4 human faces, generally known as the Chaumukhī Mahādeva. Besides this *liṅgaṁ* and some other sculptures to be enumerated further on, there are in the temple two curious stone vessels each formed of one piece of stone hollowed out in the middle for holding water, stores, or offerings. One of them is rectangular in shape being 4 ft. 5 ins. by 4 ft. 3 ins. by 1 ft. 4 ins. deep, and on one of its sides is carved the figure of a cobra — an attribute of Śiva. The Gazetteer mentions that this stone vessel served as a chest for hoarding the temple treasure. But there is no rim at the top for a lid and it is likely that the vessel contained the sacred water of the washings of the gods, a little

of which every Śaivite worshipper generally sprinkles over his or her head. The other vessel is cylindrical in shape; it is 3 ft. 2 ins. deep and 3 ft. 1 in. in diameter (internally). At the top of it is a rim about 2 ins. high for the lid, which is missing. Just below this rim is carved a snake all round the vessel, which may have been used either for keeping the temple treasure or perhaps for holding a quantity of the Ganges water.

In the inscription given below under (*g*) there is mention of a temple of Maṇḍaleśvara. This may have been the old name of the present temple of Muṇḍeśvarī, locally pronounced as Maṇḍesar, which word may conceivably be a corrupted form of Maṇḍaleśvara. "In other places," says Dr. Bloch, "the word (Maṇḍaleśvara) generally signifies some sort of District Officer but here it evidently refers to a certain form of Īśvara or Śiva."

The Chaumukhī *liṅga* in the temple is believed by Dr. Bloch to be of a later date than the temple itself. Besides the sculptured *liṅga* there are preserved in the temple the following images:—

(1) Relief (4 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft. 6 ins.) depicting a six-armed goddess riding a buffalo. Feet of goddess broken and 3 hands missing. In the surviving hands she holds a sword (right) and a bow and a shield (left). Halo behind head and a flying garland bearing *gandharva* above to left. In Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal* she is called the goddess of Maṇḍa (Rājā of Chainpur) and wife of Mahishāsura, the buffalo demon, antagonist of Durgā. This is rather curious, and doubtful.

(2) Figure of Śiva with Durgā seated on his left thigh. Bull on pedestal.

(3 and 4) Two figures of seated Gaṇeśa.

(5) Standing four-armed figure of Śiva. *Triśūla* in the only surviving hand. Bull on pedestal.

(6) Figure of Sūrya wearing socks, with lotus in upraised hands.

(7) Male figure. Hands and legs below the knees missing.

(8) Female figure seated on a raised throne in European fashion.

(9) A standing male figure. Rosary in right hand.

(10) Figure of 4-armed goddess, standing. Rosary in right hand; vase in the left.

(11) Male figure, arms and feet broken.

(12) Figure of (?) Agnī seated on a throne, with a circle of flames behind him. The figure has no beard; nor is his vehicle, the ram, depicted.

(13) Śiva, standing on the back of a prostrate *Yaksha*. *Triśūla* in left hand and rosary in the right. Hair in long curls falling on shoulders. The phallus of the god is clearly shown in this sculpture, which is a sign of antiquity.

(14) Standing male figure, possibly Śiva, with a female to left. Symbols too damaged to be identified.

(15) Standing male figure in two pieces. Arms and legs below knees missing. Long curls falling down on shoulders. Face chipped off.
(16) Male figure seated in European fashion.
(17) Kārttikeya seated on his *vāhana*, the peacock, holding mace in left hand and indistinct object in the right.
(18) Damaged four-armed goddess, standing. Symbols indistinct.
(19) Three small figures of no special deity. Unimportant.

Round about the temple are placed a number of architectural stones bearing figures of various gods and goddesses, etc. Among them is a slab with a large lotus in the centre, which probably served as the central boss for the false roof of the sanctum.

Midway along the road to the temple is a large oval-shaped boulder about 10 feet in diameter, the upper face of which is smoothed and carved with a 6-armed (?) *yaksha* figure in relief flying away to left, with a large elephant in two of his hands raised overhead. To left of the *yaksha* are traces of a small female figure seated on a stool, and below him a fox or jackal. Below the figure are a few letters of inscription in Gupta characters. The figure appears to be much older than the Muṇḍeśvarī Temple.

(*g*) All along the road to the temple are short records in Gupta characters, containing pilgrims' names, etc. But the most important inscription, which was unearthed near the temple in 1904, is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is dated 22nd Kārttik of the year 30 of the Harsha Era (=635-36 A.D.) and records the building of a temple of Nārāyaṇa close to the temple of Vinitеśvara, and the daily allotment of two *prasthas* of rice and two *palas* of oil for sacrificial purposes to the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara, and of a sum of 500 *dinaras* for its maintenance. The donor's name is Gomibhaṭṭa, who is recorded to have held the post of Daṇḍanāyeka under the King Udayasena.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 370-2; Martin's Eastern India, I, 455-57; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 146-47; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 20; and (1904), 9-10. (*k*) 192 to 196, 1128, 1129, 2439, 2440, 2441.

Rohtāsgaṛh.

No. 53.—(*a*) The fort.

(*b*) On the hill of Rohtās, about 24 miles south of Sassarām; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) The existing structure appears to date from the 16th century A.D.

(*f*) The Hill of Rohtās is believed to derive its present name from Prince Rohitāsva, son of Hariśchandra, a famous king of Hindū mythology. Hariśchandra belonged to the Solar race; and the legend of Rohitāsva is as follows:—

Hariśchandra had no child and, fearing lest he should die childless, prayed to the gods to grant him a son. He had earned a name for his love of truth and justice, but (according to the *Śāstras*) he could not hope to attain *mukti* (Salvation) if he died without an heir. So Hariśchandra prayed and his prayers were heard. Varuṇa, the god of waters, visited him and informed him that a son would be born to him provided he promised to kill the boy as

a sacrificial offering to the gods. Hariśchandra promised, and, as the gods had no reason to doubt his integrity, a son was born to him. This was Rohitāsva. Soon after the birth of the child Varuṇa appeared before Hariśchandra and asked him to fulfil his promise. Hariśchandra, however, by plausible excuses, succeeded in evading the calamity until the boy came of age. The young prince, coming to know of his father's difficult position and realising the danger to his own life, fled to the hills and jungles, and tradition says that he lived in exile for several years at Rohtās, or the hill of Rohitāsva. The whereabouts of the young prince remained unknown to Hariśchandra, and the gods never succeeded in tracing him, except Indra who is believed to have helped the prince in his concealment.

The earliest traditions attaching to Rohtāsgaṛh point to its being the home and stronghold of autochthonous races. The tradition that Rohtās was once the seat of their race lingers among the Kharwārs, Orāons and Cheros.[1] The Kharwārs claim descent from the Sun. The Cheros claim that they held the plateau till they sallied forth for the conquest of Palāmau; while the Orāons assert that Rohtāsgaṛh originally belonged to their chiefs, and was finally wrested from them by the Hindūs, who surprised them at night during one of their great national festivals, when men had fallen senseless from intoxication and only women were left to fight.

The only records from Hindū times connected with Rohtāsgaṛh are a few short rock-cut inscriptions at various places on the plateau. The first is at Phulwāri,[2] and says that Pratāpadhavala, the *Nāyaka* or Chief of Japila, constructed a road up the hill adjoining the Pratāpa stream. Its date corresponds to the 27th March, 1169 A.D. Japila is evidently the modern Japla on the opposite side of the Son, in the modern district of Palāmau (and now a station on the Daltongunj branch of the East Indian Railway), although no remains of any importance at present exist there. Two inscriptions of the same Pratāpadhavala are to be found on the Tārāchandī rock near Sassarām, and at Tutrāhī, 5 miles west of Tilothū. From another short inscription at Phulwārī we learn that the Chief in question belonged to the Khayaravāla-vaṁsa, and Professor Kielhorn has pointed out that this name appears to survive in that of the tribe of Kharwārs, who still occupy the tableland on which Rohtāsgaṛh is situated, and who claim a descent from the Sun.[3] To a descendant and successor of Pratāpadhavala, called likewise Pratāpa, belongs the second Rohtāsgaṛh inscription, the date of which is equivalent to the 5th March, 1123 A.D. It is situated near the Lāl Darwāza, and it records that a certain Mādhava made a well. Apart from these short inscriptions we have no record of Hindū rule over Rohtāsgaṛh; for the long inscription of Mitrasena and Śyāmasāhi which existed originally near the Kaṭhautiya gate, and is now in

[1] The Cheros of the Vindhyan plateau claim descent from the *Nāg* or serpent. As Buchanan Hamilton quaintly puts it, they claim the honour of being descended from the great serpent who is king of hell, that is to say, the devil, which is considered a very ancient and honourable connection.

[2] This place is probably near Tilothu; neither the Phulwariā *ghāt* near the Rohtāsan Temple, nor any of the several Phulwārīs or flower-gardens in and about the Palace contains these inscriptions.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 311, Note 10; Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 405; J. A. S. B., VIII, p. 695.

the Indian Museum, Calcutta, belongs to the time of Jahāngīr, as it is dated in the Vikrama year 1688.[1] This last inscription gives a long list of the ancestors of Mitrasena and Śyāmasāhi, who belonged to the Tomāra clan of Gwālior; but it is of minor importance to history. Certainly the statement that Śyāmasāhi took Rohtāsgaṛh away from Sher Khān cannot refer to Sher Shāh; probably some rebellious chief, who had taken temporary possession of the stronghold, is thus designated.

However, an inscription at Bandughāt, which is one of the 84 passages up to the hill top, mentions the name of 12 governors or tributary chiefs who held possession of the fort between the death of Rājā Jai Chand of Qanauj, the last Hindū Emperor of India (who was finally defeated by Mu'izuddīn Muḥammad Ibn-i-Sām, the Ghūrī, in 1194 A.D.) and the capture of Rohtāsgaṛh by Sher Shāh. Besides these records, tradition gives the name of three Brāhmaṇs, Rājā Ben, Rājā Gaur and Rājā Chandrabhān as rulers of the place, and it is said that it was from Chandrabhān that Sher Shāh captured the fort.[2]

With the exception of the Rohtāsan temple and the three water tanks near the palace buildings, there are perhaps no structures on the hill that can be ascribed to the times of the Hindū rulers.

In 1538 A.D. the fort of Rohtāsgaṛh passed from the hands of its Hindū Rājā to Sher Shāh, who at that time was in revolt against Humāyun. The story is that Sher Shāh, having determined to get possession of Rohtāsgaṛh, contrived to secure it by strategem. He requested the Rājā of Rohtāsgaṛh to allow his family and treasures to remain there while he was engaged in the conquest of Bengal. The Rājā having consented to this, Sher Shāh sent several hundred *dolīs*, in the first few of which were a few old women and in the remainder Afghān soldiers and a quantity of arms. On the arrival of the train at the outer gate, the leading *dolīs* were examined and when they were found to contain only women, the remainder were allowed to pass. The Afghāns then sprang out and attacked the guards, who were easily overpowered. Sher Shāh, who was in camp close by, was admitted and the Hindū Rājā fled, leaving the Afghāns masters of the fort.

Throughout Sher Shāh's time the fort was held by a strong garrison of 10,000 matchlock-men. Ikhtiyār Khān Pannī and Fatḥ Khān Patanī are mentioned as having commanded the fort during the Sūrī period.

On the death of Salīm (or Islām) Shāh Sūrī, one of his officers, Sulaimān Karārānī, rebelled against the tyrannical 'Adlī (or 'Ādil) Shāh, and established himself in Bihār and Bengal. Sulaimān seems to have allowed Fatḥ Khān to continue as commander of the fortress; but Junaid Karārānā, who succeeded Sulaimān, appointed Sayyid Muḥammad in Fatḥ Khān's place. Sayyid Muḥammad held the command till 984 A.H. when he surrendered it to Shahbāz Khān Kamboh, an officer of Akbar. That Emperor subsequently appointed Muḥibb 'Alī Khān governor of Rohtās, who remained in charge of Rohtāsgaṛh for a long time, so long, indeed, that he was called Muḥibb 'Alī *Rohtāsī* at court. In

[1] J. A. S. B., VIII, p. 695.
[2] Martin's *Eastern India*, I, p. 432.

the 31st year of Akbar's reign (994 A.H.), two officers being appointed to each province, Muḥibb 'Alī was ordered to join Wazīr K͟hān, Governor of Bengal. Bihār was given to the Kachchwāha Rājpūts as *jāgīr* early in 996 A.H. and Rājā Mān Singh selected Rohtāsgaṛh as his headquarters. He had the fortifications put in complete repair, deepened and repaired the reservoirs, and constructed a palace for his own residence. He remained in Bengal and Bihār till 1013 A.H., when Akbar fell ill and Mān Singh resigned his post in order to be present in the Capital. Jahāngīr on succeeding to the throne overlooked the conspiracy which the Rājā had formed against him and sent Mān Singh to Bengal, but soon after (1015 A.H.) he was recalled and ordered to quell some disturbances at Rohtās; after which he joined the Emperor. S͟haik͟h Quṭbuddīn was then made Governor of Bengal in place of Mān Singh, and Quṭb's son, S͟haik͟h Ibrāhīm Kis͟hwar K͟hān, served as Qil'ādār of Rohtās for some time (*Āīn*; I, 497).

At the time of Shāh Jahān's rebellion the fort was held by one Sayyid Mubārak, who, on hearing of the defeat and death of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm K͟hān Fatḥ Jang, the Sūbadār of Bihār and Bengal, at Rājmahal, came out to meet the rebellious prince, handed over the keys of the fort to him, and, with some other officers of the prince, protected his family and treasures until pardon was granted to him by Jahāngīr. One of the conditions of the pardon, indeed, was that the fort of Rohtās should be delivered to the Imperial Officers.

A Persian inscription on the entrance of the *chārdīwārī* tomb at the foot of the hill throws some light on the administration of the hill fortress during the time of S͟hāh Jahān. It tells us that at that time Nawwāb Ik͟hlāṣ K͟hān, the Qil'ādār of Rohtāsgaṛh, held the rank of a commander of 3,000; that he was the Faujdār of the territory extending from Makrain and the parganahs of Siris and Katamba up to Benares; and that his *jāgīr* consisted of the following parganahs: Khawand, Mangror, Tilothū, Akbarpūr, Belonja, Najībnagar (or Bijayanagar) and Japla. These parganahs now lie in the modern districts of Shāhābād, Gayā, Palāmau and Benares, and most of the names still exist. The Dārog͟ha of the fort was Malik Wiṣāl. It was probably only he who was stationed there permanently (hence his building a tomb for himself and his family close to the hill), while the commander of the fort perhaps paid merely occasional visits to it. The enclosure and the *bāolī*, etc., mentioned in the inscription were finished in January-February 1638 A.D.

Mīrzā Muqīm (Abul Munsoor K͟hān Bahādur Ṣafdar Jang) is mentioned as having been given the Rohtās fort in 1742 as a reward for having sent timely reinforcements to 'Alī Wardī K͟hān, Governor of Bengal.

According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, "a guard of 400 or 500 men was granted to the Dārog͟ha for the protection of the fort; in addition to which there was the regular military garrison, commanded by an officer known as the Hazārī or commander of 1,000 men. This post, which was hereditary, was held originally by Rājpūts; but in 1810 the holders were Muhammadans. The garrison were natives of the fortress, whose families, contrary to the rule, occupied a small town near the fort. Besides these, there were about 4,000

matchlock-men, whose duties consisted in guarding different parts of the plateau. After the defeat of Mir Kasim at Udhanala in 1764, he sent his wife with a large number of servants and attendants and valuable treasure to Rohtās, under the care of Lala Naubat Rai; who soon afterwards died, leaving his charge to the care of Shah Mall. On Mir Kasim's final defeat at Buxar, Shah Mall sent the Begum to join her husband; and Mir Kasim wrote to the Diwan advising him to give up the fort to the English, which was done at once. Colonel Goddard, who took possession of the fort, remained there for about two months, destroying all military stores; after which a small native guard remained for one year, when the place was finally abandoned." (S. A. B., Shahabad).

During the Mutiny "Rohtās and its neighbourhood were infested by a considerable force of Mutineers"; and in the latter half of the 19th century a European planter is said to have lived here for a long time.

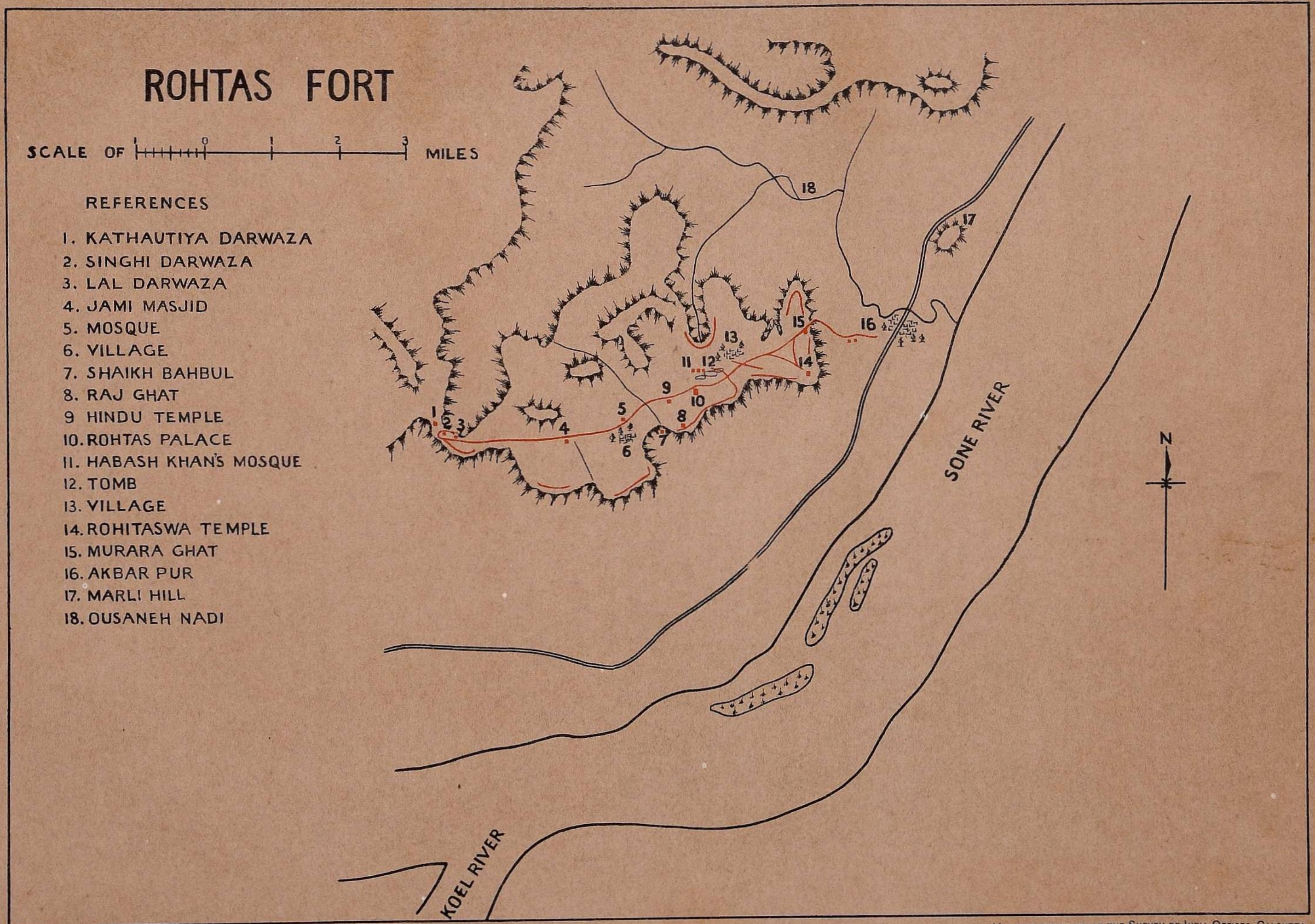
The Rohtās fort occupies a part of the tableland about 4 miles from east to west and 5 miles from north to south; but among the local people it is generally reckoned as 28 miles in circumference.[1] Much of the area is bare rock, but patches of red soil are also found here and there and are cultivated as rice fields. One of these fields (near the palace) is known as the Bangala (Bungalow) Bāgh, which suggests that it was formerly planted as a garden for the use of the Officer in charge of the fort.

Besides the Meṇḍṛa ghāṭ, which is the ascent from Akbarpur and is now generally used by visitors and the local people, there are, it is said, no less than 83 other practicable passages. Four of these, *viz.*, Ghoṛā ghāṭ, Rāj ghāṭ, Kaṭhautiyā and the Meṇḍṛa ghāṭ, are called the four great *ghāṭs*[2], while the remaining 80 of more difficult ascent are known as *ghāṭīs*. The easiest ascent is said to be the Rāj ghāṭ towards the south, but it is seldom used now-a-days. All the passages are well defended by fortifications, but the most massive works are to be seen at the Kaṭhautiyā, where a rocky neck of land, some 200 yards wide, forming a sort of isthmus, connects the Rohtās hill with the Rehal hills to the west. The neck is formed between a wide and deep recess known as Gularyā khoh on the north and the Son River on the south. Across this neck the Hindūs had commenced to cut a wide ditch in the solid rock, which tradition says was intended to be carried down to the level of the river bed; but, when the excavation had been carried a little way, blood issued from one of the stones and the project was abandoned. The work has, indeed, every appearance of having been suddenly stopped, and the stone from which the blood is said to have come is worshipped by the neighbouring peasants as the power protecting Rohtās.

On the east side of the ditch Rājā Mān Singh erected stupendous works. Two fine gates called respectively the Singh Darwāza and the Kaṭhautiyā,

[1] Mīrzā Amīnā in his *Shah Jahan Nama* says that the circumference of the hill of Rohtās is 32 miles and that of the fort itself only 24 miles.

[2] Mīrzā Amīnā in his *Shah Jahan Nama* says that "the fort originally had 14 gates; but only 4 gates give access to it since the time of Sher Shāh". These gates command the four great *ghāṭs*.



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Heliozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta.

the one about 40 yards within the other, defend the neck, which is considerably lower than the general level of the plateau; while both the gates

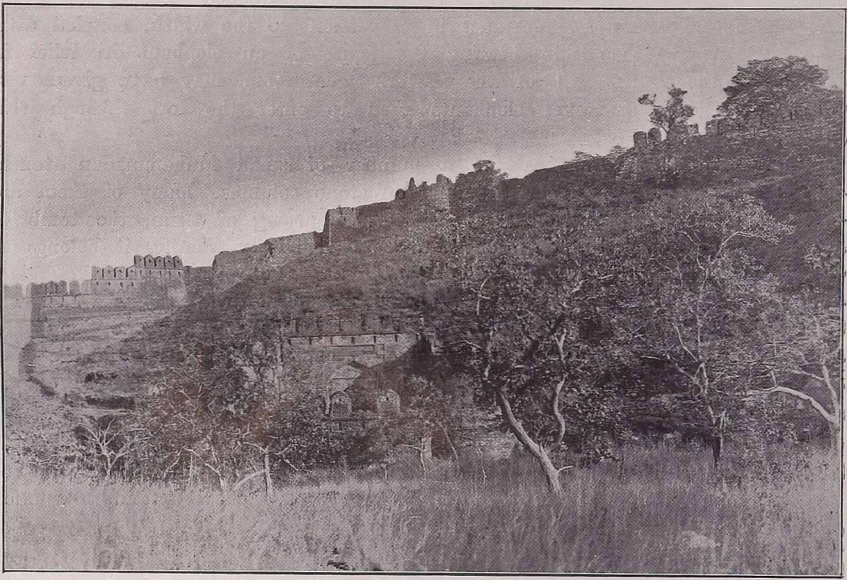


Fig. 94.—Rohtās fort, showing Kaṭhautiyā Gateway, Rohtāsgaṛh.

and the ditch are commanded by a double line of square bulwarks, half-moons and curtains, with fine battlements, which rise along the hill on the south side of the neck, towering some 80 feet or more above the ditch for about 400 yards.

The masonry is of a primitive type, and is rapidly falling to decay. The embrasures seem to have been adapted for arrows and musketry. Access to the different works and the communications between them is exceedingly difficult. Within these fortifications is another line of works with a gateway called the Lāl Darwāza or Red Gate, from the colour of some stones used in its construction. The works here are comparatively insignificant, and all the other fortifications are inferior to those of Kaṭhautiyā.

The Singh Darwāza, inside the Kaṭhautiyā, derives its name from the figures of two lions inserted in the masonry of the huge rectangular bastions flanking the long and narrow flight of steps leading up to the gateway.

Of the four gates leading into the fort the Meṇḍra is the least pretentious and the Kaṭhautiyā the most imposing. The G͟hāzī Darwāza, or the "Warriors' Gate," which commands the Ghoṛā Ghāṭ, is also strengthened with great bastions and bulwarks somewhat similar to those defending the Singh Darwāza

at Kaṭhautiyā. Tradition says that Sher Shāh entered the fort through this gate. The arched entrance is only 9½ ft. wide, and had the usual wooden gates on the inside, which were barred with wooden beams or *kīlīs*. The unusual height of the entrance in proportion to the width, coupled with the fact that a stone slab bearing the figure of an elephant in relief is built into the front wall of the eastern guardroom, may have given rise to the tradition that Royal elephants used to enter the fort through this gate.

Near the Ghāzī Darwāza are a number of small Muhammadan tombs shaded by *chhatrīs* or cupolas standing on stone columns. Many of them are of the Early Mughal period. But the most imposing of them, the tomb of Habash Khān bears no inscription to disclose definitely whether it belongs to the time of Sher Shāh Sūrī or Akbar the Great. Half-way between the Palace and the Lāl Darwāza is a fine three-domed mosque of white stone which was built in the reign of Sher Shāh. Near the Rājghāt Gateway are long flat-roofed chambers, which were possibly used as sentries' barracks; and the ruins of a considerable bāzār can be traced here and there in the vicinity of the ruined temples near the Rājghāt Gateway.

(*g*) The earliest inscription at Rohtās seems to be that near the Lāl Darwāza. It has been published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV (1896-7), from which the following transcript and translation are copied:—

(i) 1. Oṁ oṁ navabhir-atha munīṁdrair-vāsarāṇām-adhīśāiḥ parikalayati saṁkhyāṁ vatsarē sāhasāṁkē Madana-vijayayātrā-maṁgalē māsi chaitrē pratipadi sita-kāntau vāsarē Bhāskarasya.

2. Ja (ya) vana-dalana-līlā-māṁsalaiḥ svair-yaśōbhir-ddhavalayati dharitrīṁ śri pratāpa-kshitīṁdrē idam-udakam-udārajñāna-bhājā sthirat(v)aṁ namitam-iha girīndrē śrīmatā Mādhavena.

3. Anāvilam-analpīyas-tāpa-nirvvāṇa-kāraṇaṁ svayaśaḥ-sodaraṁ vāri kārayāmāsa Mādhavaḥ | Nijaṁ vācha iva svādu yaśaḥ svam-iva ni(r)malaṁ etad atra suvistīrṇṇaṁ kāra—

4. yām-āsa Mādhavaḥ | Akāṁḍe kuṁḍikā kāṁḍa-nidhir-nidhir-apām-iva akāri Mādha(ve)n-eyaṁ prapāte pātakadruhi.

"The inscription records that, when the year of Sāhāsaṁka (*i.e.*, Vikramaditya) bore the number made up of 9, the chief Munis (7), and the lords of the days (12) *i.e.*, in Vikrama-Samvat 1279, in the month of Chaitra, which inaugurates the march of conquest of the god of love, on a Sunday, the first of the bright half,—while the illustrions king Pratāpa was whitening (*dhavalayat*) the earth with the great fame of having in mere sport cut up the *Yavans* (? Muhammadans), a certain Mādhava made a well or tank on the rock, apparently near the spot where the inscription is engraved."

"The date regularly corresponds, for the Kārtikadi Vikrama year 1279 expired, to Sunday, the 5th March A.D. 1223, when the first *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended, 38m. after mean sunrise. The 'King' Pratāpa,

in whose reign this date falls, is, I have no doubt, a descendant and successor of the Jāpilya Nāyaka or Mahānāyaka Pratāpadhavala, whose well-known Tārāchandi rock inscription is dated in Vikrama-Samvat 1225; of whom there is another short inscription of the same year, recording the construction of a road by him, at 'Phulwariya'; and whose name is given with a date which I would read Samvat 1214 *Jyaishtha-vadi 4 Sa (sa) nau*, in a short inscrpition on the rock near the Tutrahi falls. From a slightly damaged, undated inscription at 'Phulwariya' it appears that the family to which these chiefs belonged was called the Khayaravāla-vaṁsa."

On a rock near the Phulwaria Ghāt, a few hundred yards to south of the Rohtāsan temple, is the following Sanskrit inscription of 5 lines:—

(ii) L. 1. Samvat 1394 samae (ye).
L. 2. Vaisā-(śā)sha (kha) sudī (di) 14 Ravī (vi) vā.
L. 3. sara vā (?) rosa pasasāro.
L. 4. Ya (?) salītā āgō mūlādala si (si).
L. 5. ha pī (chhe) mūlādala (?) bhīma.

Beyond the date, which is probably equivalent to Sunday, the 3rd May 1338 A.D., the meaning is uncertain. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra considered this to be a record of the birth of two persons named Mūlādala Siṁha and Mūlādala Bhīma. It is, however, very unlikely that a mere date of birth of two persons, however important, would have been recorded like this. The representations of a man holding a club or sword, and a lion to the right of the inscription probably must have something to do with the inscription.[1]

Over the arched entrance of the Kaṭhautiyā gateway is a Persian inscription of two lines and a Sanskrit one of 8 lines, both cut in bold letters in relief.

The Sanskrit inscription is sadly damaged, but it seems to be very similar to that of the Elephant Gate of the Palace.

The Persian inscription is also partly damaged. It consists of three lines and reads as follows:—

(1) . . . . پرسید از چرنگ گفتا شنیده ام ز دوران سوار خنگ - یاجوج . . . .
سدے سکندري شده از راجه مانسنگ

(2) شقداري پروهت سریدهر و گوپال داس و بعهدهٔ بهائی خان بني اسرائیل و داروغه بل بهدر

(3) زنار دار (؟) و صنعت گر استاد مبارک تحریر فی التاریخ غزه شهر ذي القعد سنه عشر و خمس و الف *

Translation.

L. 1. ....Said 'I have heard from the rider of the grey-horse of the world that......Rājā Mān Singh constructed a (fortification like the) China wall.........

L. 2. (Completed) during the *shiqdārī* of Purohit Srīdhar and Gopāl Dās and under the supervision of Bahāī Khān Banī Isrā'īl, and Dārogha Bal Bhadr.

[1] This note and transcript were supplied by Mr. Dikshit of the Eastern Circle.

L. 3. wearer (or keeper) of the sacred thread, by the architect Ustād Mubārak. Written on the 1st of the month of Zil-q'ada in the year 1015 H. (=1607 A.D.).

This record shows that the Gateway was completed early in the reign of Jahāngīr.

(*h*) Fairly good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 362-3; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 147, 151-3; Martin's Eastern India, 432-39; A. S. R., (1902-03), 57-58; A. S. R., E. C., (1902), 22; and (1904), 9; S. A. B., XII, 209-11; E. I., IV, (1896-7), 310-12; J. A. S. B., VIII, 695-701; Ind. Antiq., XIX, p., 179. (*k*) 1023, 1024, 2452, 2455.

No. 54.—(*a*) The Palace or Maḥal Sarāi.

(*b*) About 100 yards to north of the Bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Probably completed in $\frac{\text{1005 A.H.}}{\text{1597 A.D.}}$

(*f*) The Palace or Maḥal Sarāi occupies an area of 550 feet north to south by 327 feet east to west. The internal lay-out is very irregular—an unusual feature with Saracenic planning—and curiously contrasts with the essential symmetry that characterises the other and more famous Mughal palaces in North India.

The architecture is typical of that of Akbar, in whose reign the palace was built, and is a unique example of this style in the Province. The principal front is towards the west and consists of a lofty wall relieved only by a large gateway (known as the Hathiā Pol) near the southern end, and by a few projecting balconies of the Mughal type disposed at irregular intervals, the sky line being picturesquely broken by isolated *chhatrīs* and pavilions and the upper storeys of the Throne Room or Darbār Hall.

Hathiā Pol.—The Hathiā Pol or Elephant Gateway is the most decorative part of the Palace. It is constructed of finely wrought stone, on which traces of an original ornamentation in stucco of the "sgraffito" technique in red and white designs are still to be seen under the top parapet and in the spandrels of the large central arch of the façade. Two fine oriel-balconies give interest and dignity to this front; and beneath them occur little sculptured elephants (2 ft. 9 ins. high) inset in a typical Early Mughal niche from which feature the Gate derives its name.

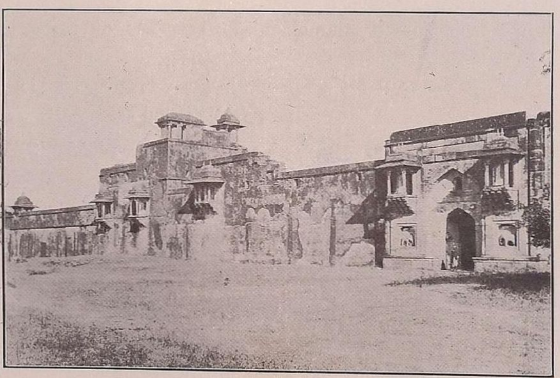
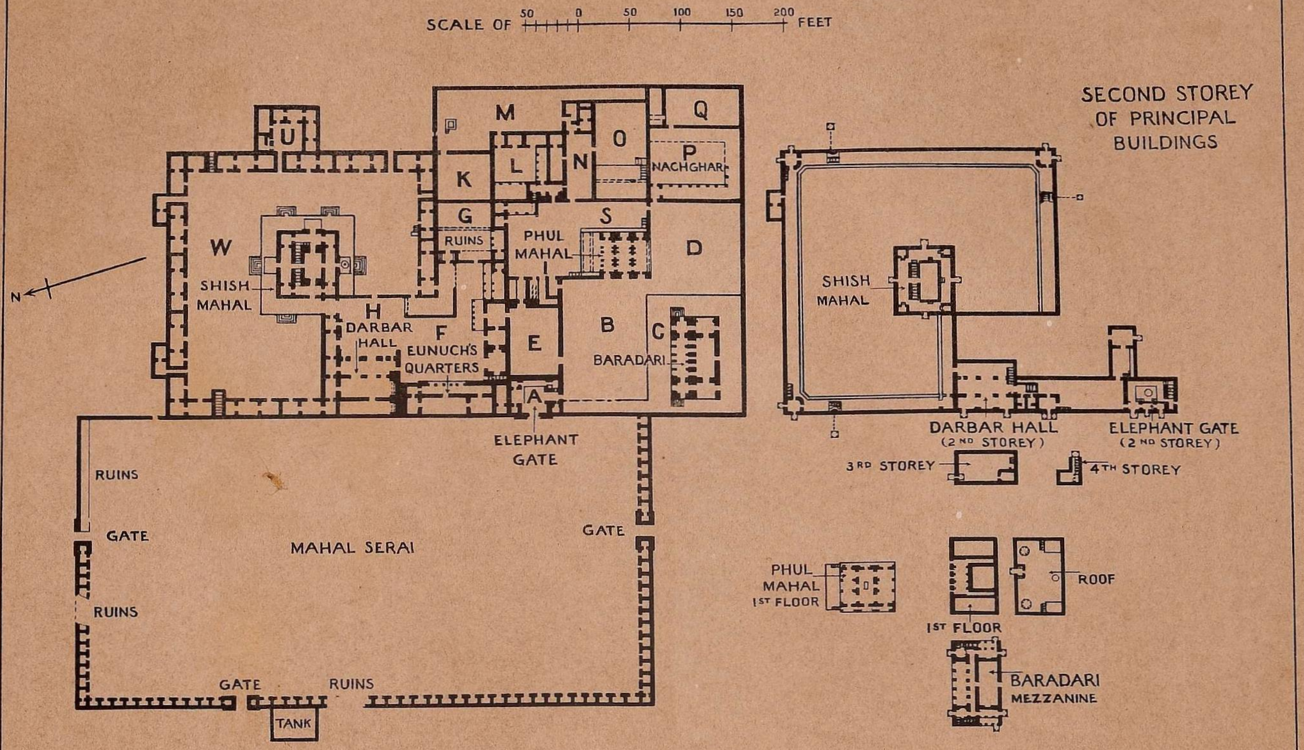


FIG. 95.—Palace: Elephant Gate and back of the Darbār Hall, Rohtāsgaṛh.

PLAN OF ROHTAS PALACE



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Heliozincographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta.

Above the entrance archway and enclosed by the main arch of the façade is a small window-opening lighting a little chamber behind. The main entrance, 9 feet wide, leads into an elegant guard-room, on the north and east sides of which are wide alcoves covered by pointed semi-domes of intersecting arching and containing raised stone platforms serving as benches for the guards. These platforms are each reached by a flight of 3 steps. A flat-domed roof covers the central portion of the guard house, the whole arrangement being typical of Mug͟hal practice. Behind the piers of the arches supporting the dome are two room-like recesses on the east side ; and flanking the entrance are two dark chambers one on either side. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton observes that the covered ceiling of the guard house consists entirely of plaster, "the roof being supported by beams and flags of stone passing horizontally from wall to wall." This, however, is incorrect, as the three terraces (one above the other) on the roof conceal the contour of the dome. On the south façade of the gate another large archway gives access to an open court in front of the Bāradarī. On the south face of this inner gateway are three inscriptions, two in Persian, the third in Sanskrit. These give the date of the completion of the Gateway as 1005 A.H.[1]—1596 A.D. and mention the name of the priest, the *dārog͟ha* and the architect. Mān Singh was appointed Governor of Bengal about the end of 995 A.H. and probably commenced the buildings at Rohtāsgaṛh very soon after. The date (1005 A.H.) given in these inscriptions is not necessarily to be taken as referring to the completion of the gateway alone (which is specifically mentioned in the epigraphs) and probably also relates to the completion of the greater part, if not the whole, of the Palace.

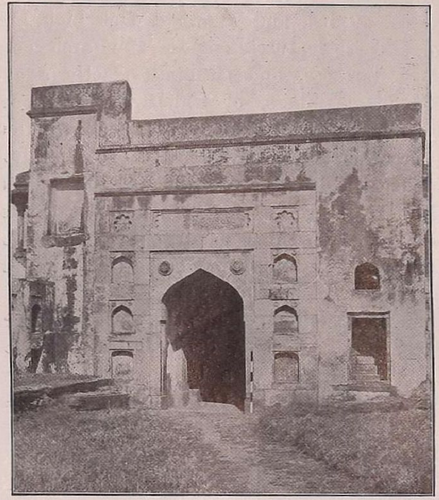


Fig. 96.—Palace : Elephant Gate, inner front from south, Rohtāsgaṛh.

The inner archway leads into an open court of which the west side was originally occupied by a gallery providing a covered passage from the gateway to the "Offices" or Bāradarī, as the two-storeyed building to the south is now called. In the east jamb of this gateway is a small door opening on to a steep stair which leads up to the roof and second storey of the Guard Room. The stair terminates in a closet with a door to south (from which access was

[1] Blochmann was misled by the word *Alf* at the end of the 1st inscription into thinking that the date referred to the *Alfi* era, which would put it ten years later $\left(\frac{1015 \text{ A.H.}}{1606 \text{ A.D.}}\right)$ and in the reign of Jahāngīr.

gained to the roof of the gallery which once occupied the west side of the court B; see Plan); while another door to north leads to an open terrace surrounded by a high parapet wall. Above this terrace, and projecting from the west wall, is another large terrace 21 ft. 9 ins. by 18 ft. 9 ins. and about 4 feet high, and above this again an octagonal *chabūtra*. These features enclose the arch construction of the dome below. Behind the terraces, and situated exactly above the Hathiā Pol gateway, are three small chambers, of which the end ones have each a projecting balcony to west and the central one an arched window. The central room has a flat ceiling, the others being covered with low vaulted roofs. The northernmost room communicates with the interior of the Palace, to be described later on. A steep flight of steps from the south-east corner of the terraced area leads to the roof of the three small chambers, which is also surrounded by a low parapet wall and contains two octagonal *chabūtras* over the domes above the rooms to north and south.

The Bāradarī or "Offices."—The Bāradarī, which is perhaps the most symmetrically arranged part of the whole palace, is of pleasing design. It stands on a large platform about 116 feet long, 91 feet wide and 2 feet high. The superstructure, which measures 84 ft. by 46 ft. 6 ins., rests on a low plinth 6 ins. high, a terrace of 22 feet wide occurring in front. The lower storey consists of a pillared verandah with a spacious hall behind it in the centre and 4 small rooms at the four corners. The verandah, measuring 39 ft. by 16 ft. 6 ins., is supported on four sets of octagonal pillars in pairs between double pilasters and has a deep sloping *chhajja* above the openings. The bases and capitals of the pillars supporting its flat roof are square in shape and neatly carved. The *chhajja* rests on heavy stone beams laid across handsome massive brackets, the lower scrolls of which are shown as protruding from the mouths of elephant heads.

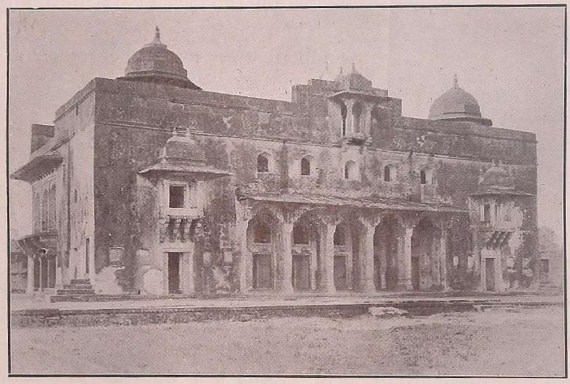


FIG. 97.—The Bāradarī or "Offices" attached to the Palace, Rohtāsgaṛh.

At either end of the verandah is a small flat-roofed chamber 10 ft. 3 ins. square, with four doors of the lintel-headed type, one in the middle of each side. The great hall at the back is an imposing chamber measuring 40 ft. 2 ins. long by 19 ft. 5 ins. wide. It is covered by a hemispherical ceiling in the central section and pointed semidomes at the ends. The roof is carried high, there being no upper storey above this hall. A door in the back wall leads

out into the open area, while two similar openings in the side walls communicate with verandah-like rooms (19 ft. 6 ins. by 17 ft. 4 ins.) which are open in front and have their low flat roofs supported on double rows of square pillars.

The verandah and the large hall behind it connect with each other through five door-ways (or rather passages with door frames provided at both ends) in a partition wall 6 ft. 8 ins. thick. Above each door in the verandah wall is an arched window, but with the exception of that in the centre these do not penetrate to the inner hall, serving only to light a narrow passage above set in the thickness of this partition wall.

At the east and west end of the building are two narrow stairs leading up to the second storey of the small rooms and verandahs at the corners, and to the long narrow passage (2 ft. 7 ins. wide, and 6 ft. 8 ins. high) within the thickness of the partition wall of the two central chambers. The passage is lighted by 5 arched windows to north, and forms the only means of communication between the upper rooms at the corners of the building—for the great inner hall occupies the whole height—the upper storey of the front verandah being approached from the roof of the building. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton calls the passage the *s̲h̲āh nas̲h̲īn* (High Seat, or Daïs), but the name, which seems inappropriate, is not known now. In front of each of the small upper rooms on the north (which have low-domed ceilings), is a projecting balcony of pleasing design, and in the wall towards the pillared verandah a small window opens into the Treasury above the hall, access to which is only possible *viâ* the stairs down from the roof. The other rooms on the south are also very attractive. They have vaulted roofs and open fronts with three arches supported on short stone pillars connected transversely by lintels. The openings are shaded by *chhajjas*, and each room has a window looking into the central hall and a projecting balcony towards the south.

The same stair which leads to the second storey continues up to the flat roof of the building, which is surrounded, as usual, by a heavy parapet wall about 8 feet high. The central section of this wall on the north is raised in steps into a pedestal and in front of it is a balcony, access to which is gained through a small gallery to south supported on four pillars. On either side of the gallery is a steep stair leading down to a low flat-roofed chamber (referred to above as the Treasury), 38 ft. by 14 ft. 4 ins. and 8 ft. high, which forms the upper storey of the front verandah. It is lighted by five arched windows in front (see Plan) and divided by four arches into five compartments. Behind the compartments at the extreme ends are two arched passages (26 ft. long, 46 ins. wide and 5 ft. 3 ins. high) made in the thickness of the walls and running southward right up to the back wall of the building. These were possibly intended for holding specie. In the end walls of the chamber is a small window on each side looking down into the small corner rooms described above.

To revert to the roof, the north-east and north-west corners contain two elegant *chhatrīs* or cupolas standing on 8 pillars, which are however concealed from an exterior view of the building by the parapet wall. In the south-

east and south-west corners are two low *chabūtras* or terraces, and five windows behind them in the southern wall afford a pleasing view of the country. An octagonal *chabūtra* on the south side of the roof covers the dome of the large central hall below.

On all four sides of the Bāradarī is an open terrace bounded on the south and west by the enclosure wall of the Palace; and to its east is an open court containing a small tank in the centre. This and the other court to north of the Bāradarī were used, according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's account, "as parade for the guards when they assembled to be viewed by the Governor." A doorway in the wall to north of the large court in front of the Bāradarī which is marked B in the plan, leads into a small court called Raushan Shahīd kā Chauk, from the circumstance of the grave of a martyr named Raushan existing against the north wall of the court. The west side of this court was once occupied by an open gallery now no longer in existence; and a large arched gateway on the east side leads into an open court (I) with a tank in the centre and a gallery in the north-east corner; while a small door in the north wall opens into an important court marked (F) in the Plan.

Eunuch's Quarters, and Rang Maḥal. This latter court (F), which contains a set of three handsome chambers on the south and a gallery with a hall and some small rooms behind it on the west side of a rectangular courtyard, was the abode of the eunuchs. The first chamber entered from Raushan Shahīd's court has a fine vaulted roof and an open gallery supported on octagonal pillars in front. Another gallery exists to east, this having a hall and an unlighted cell behind it. The eastern gallery and the hall to its rear are supported on square pillars. The original doorway connecting them with the chamber has recently been blocked up. The room next to this chamber on the west has a plain vaulted roof; but the one further west again, a fine chamber 19 ft. 6 ins. square, has a flat-domed roof, and is furnished with a wide arched gateway and two windows opening towards the courtyard to north. The interior walls of the chamber were ornamented with a painted dado up to a height of about 4 feet. At the west end of this chamber a small door opens into a narrow closet under a staircase leading up to the flat roof, which is surrounded by a high parapet[1] wall. On the east side of this open roof is a chamber (19 ft. by 14 ft.) forming the upper storey of the central room No. 5 in this wing (see plan of second storey). It has a low domed roof and two large windows, one in the north wall, the other in the south, with a balcony in front overlooking the Bāradarī and the Phūl Maḥal areas. This chamber is called the Rang Maḥal and is said to have been used by Rājā Mān Singh as his sleeping chamber. A stair on the south leads up to its roof which, instead of being enclosed by the usual parapet wall, was surrounded by a row of six square balusters on each side. The balusters, of which only 12 are now standing, are about

[1] The north parapet wall is not more than 3 ft. high now.

4 feet high and had originally screens of stone fretwork between them, thus affording *parda* while allowing the free passage of air. These balusters account for the present name of *Khūṅṭ* Maḥal given to the chamber by the local people, *Khūṅṭ* meaning a large peg or pillar.

The lower storey of the west wing consists of a long verandah-like chamber and a hall behind it. The open portion of this verandah, which measures 47 ft. 3 ins. by 17 ft., at the north end is carried on 4 square columns and two pilasters with a *chhajja* above the openings. The roof of the verandah is divided into 9 compartments each covered by a pointed vault springing from 8 heavy beams of stone set transversely across the verandah. Four of these beams, in the pillared portion of the verandah, cracked some time after the construction of the building and are now supported on stone arches. At the north end of the gallery is a small room, 16 ft. 10 ins. square, with a low vaulted roof. Behind the verandah is an oblong hall with a room at each end, the rooms communicating with those in front of them. The hall has a vaulted roof and is lighted by a wide door in the middle and a large window on either side. The window sills project about 2 feet beyond the walls and are approached from the hall by a flight of 3 steps. The passage-way of the door is reduced by the *chaukīs* or platforms constructed on either side. In the north-west corner of the court and separated from the verandah by a solid wall were three retiring closets one behind the other, but they have been blocked up now.

The second storey of the west wing consists of a large terrace to south and a handsome room to north. Originally the terrace was surrounded by very high parapet walls which totally excluded a view of the Ladies' Apartments; so that the male attendants of the Rājā or the members of the court could be conveniently admitted to his principal place of residence through the apartments above the Guard Room. The eastern parapet wall is now however only 3 feet high, and allows a full view of the Zanāna Maḥal. The west wall is pierced by 2 windows looking out into the courtyard in front of the palace. The small room to north measures 15 ft. 7 ins. by 12 ft. 7 ins. and has two doors on the south and east, and a window on the west side, with an unusually large balcony in front. The ceiling is flat and rests on square pillars. A hanging stair in the west parapet wall leads up to the roof of this chamber, and a short stair to north-east leads to a small open area, the west end of which once contained two retiring closets.

Rājā Mān Singh's Residence (*Throne Room*). Returning again to (F) on the ground floor we find a chamber with arched doorways on the east and north, in which was stationed the guard of eunuchs and which formed the chief entrance into the Ladies' Apartments *viâ* the courtyard of the block of buildings marked (H) in the plan. The passage is now blocked with a rubble wall built across it in modern times. The partition wall between the Eunuchs' Quarters and the structure to north of them has also disappeared. This latter building, or at least the upper storey of it, was probably used as the Governor's own residence. It is a four-storeyed structure and contains some

of the finest rooms in the Palace. The lower storey consists of a long gallery with a hall and a dark chamber situated behind it on the west side and a set of handsome rooms on the north. The gallery on the west side measures 52 feet long by 11 ft. 9 ins. wide and has three arched entrances in the centre, each 8 feet wide, and a small lintel-headed door at each end. Its roof is relatively low and is supported on arches which divide it into five compartments, three of which have separate vaulted roofs. A door in the south wall of the gallery communicates with the Eunuchs' Quarters.

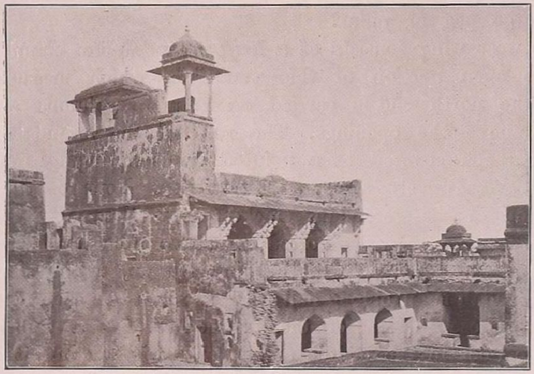


FIG. 98.—Rājā Mān Singh's Residence in the Palace, Rohtāsgaṛh.

Behind this gallery is a long hall measuring 44 ft. 7 ins. by 12 ft. 8 ins., with an arched doorway and 2 large windows in the east wall. In length it is some 8 feet less than the gallery in front as space for a stair, which leads to the upper storey, has been taken from its south end. Like the gallery, the roof of this hall is also supported on arches divided into compartments with vaulted roofs. At the south end of the hall is a small recess below the stair. A small door from this hall leads into a long chamber behind it. From the north end of the central hall a door leads into a small room, to the west of which is a dark cell with a very small door now blocked up, and to east, a suite of three rooms—the whole forming the north wing of the building. The central one of these three rooms is rectangular in plan and has a vaulted roof, and a fine doorway with *chaukīs* on the south. At the east end of the suite is a large gateway which formed the principal entrance into the K͟hāna Bāg͟h or Zanāna Maḥal.

Throne Room. The second storey of this building (H) is one of the most attractive parts of the Palace, and consists of a fine open gallery with a very handsome hall behind it. The gallery measures 45 ft. 3 ins. by 12 ft. 4 ins., and has a flat roof supported on four massive stone piers (3 ft. 9 ins. square) at either side and on four beams carried on heavy semi-circular brackets, the whole presenting a very imposing appearance. The brackets supporting the *chhajja* outside the verandah are elaborately ornamented with mouldings and pendants, some of them being carved with figures of peacocks. At the north end, opposite to the door of entry, is a wide alcoved recess. The hall behind the gallery measures 52 ft. 3 ins. by 12 ft. 8 ins. It is locally known as the Tak͟ht Bāds͟hāhī or Throne Room and was probably used either as bed-room, or perhaps as Dīwān-i-K͟hāṣṣ, by Rājā Mān Singh. It

communicates with the gallery through a fine doorway and has two very large windows, once screened by fret-work in stone. Both the gallery and the hall have their interior walls painted up to dado height with panels in red, yellow, and blue pigments. At either end of the hall is an arched recess with a small window, and in the back or west wall are two windows with domed balconies in front. The window in the north wall looks into a small chamber through which there was a passage to the roof of the Ladies' Apartments. The roof of this chamber has disappeared. The Throne Room communicated with the Zanāna Maḥal across the roof of the three rooms forming the north wing of the ground floor. The open area in front is surrounded by a high parapet wall excluding a view of the Ladies' Apartments, and at its south end is a steep stair leading up to the parapetted roof of the great hall and gallery, and to some buildings forming the third storey. Here in the north parapet wall, near the west end, is a small cupola opening into a projecting balcony on the north, while at the south-west corner is a handsome room measuring 18 ft. 5 ins. by 14 ft. and covered by a low domed roof supported on four arches, behind the southern of which is a semi-octagonal recess. The soffit of the dome is decorated with paintings; and a *chhajja* shades the north wall of the chamber externally. At the south-east corner of this terrace is another stair, partly covered over, leading to the 4th storey. The stair terminates in a small chamber with a vaulted roof (14 ft. 7 ins. by 5 ft. 10 ins. internally) supported on 8 slender pillars. The area in front of this chamber was once surrounded by stone *jālīs* which have entirely disappeared, only two pieces of the stone margin being left on the north side. A narrow passage leads from this small chamber, by the side of the stair, to a cupola on the east, which rests on four pillars and commands an excellent view of the whole palace, as well as of the country around.

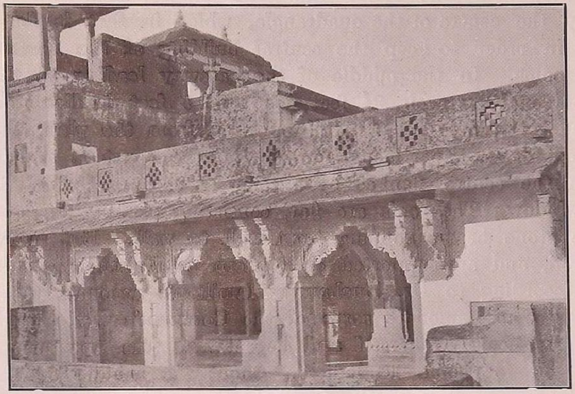


FIG. 99.—Palace: The Throne Room, Rohtāsgaṛh.

The Khāna Bāgh or Flower Garden. A large arched gateway at the north-west corner of the Governor's Residence leads to the Zanāna quarters, locally known as the Phulwārī (Flower Garden) or Khāna Bāgh on account of the courtyard being once divided into numerous parterres by narrow paved pathways crossing each other at right angles. It forms a large square surrounded by a number of small apartments on all sides, with a two-storeyed

building known as the Áina Maḥal or Shīsh Maḥal (Palace of mirrors) about the centre. The Takht Bādshāhī building encroaches upon the south-west corner of the Khāna Bāgh square, with the effect that the Shīsh Mahal now no longer appears to occupy the centre of the quadrangle, which in fact it does. This was probably done in order to keep the central building of the Zanāna close to the Governor's rooms. In the middle of the gateway leading to the Khāna Bāgh is a small octagonal reservoir, 3½ feet deep and 5 feet in diameter, which probably contained a water jet. As will be seen from the plan, the usual arrangement adopted for the apartments surrounding the court is a hall with a wide entrance in the centre flanked by a room at each end which is sometimes lighted by a window. The roofs are flat, consisting of long flags of stone resting on massive stone beams running from wall to wall. But many of the beams have cracked, and are supported on modern semi-circular arches or square buttresses. According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's account, these apartments were intended to accommodate some of the Governor's wives, each lady having one of the apartments to herself and her slaves. The apartments thus afforded accommodation for some 16 ladies. About the middle of the east side a passage leads into a small area (U) surrounded by 8 oblong chambers, all covered either by domes or vaulted roofs, three of which on the north were used as latrines and the others possibly as baths or apartments for scavengers. A steep narrow stair from the middle room of the north wing leads up to the roof, which is surrounded by high parapet walls on all sides. Two latrines (each consisting of two domed chambers) were provided in the north wing of the apartments, one near the east and the other at the west end. (This latter was turned into a private entry by Col. Goddard in 1764-5; but the door leading outside has now been blocked up). Both closets project beyond the north wall of the palace. Besides the principal entrance from H and another passage from F there is in the east wing a small private entry from the outside of the palace. But it appears to have been made at a later date—possibly by Colonel Goddard to give access to his men, who might have been stationed in the Zanāna Maḥal.

Three covered stairs near the south-east, north-east and north-west corners lead up to the roof of the apartments, which is surrounded by a parapet wall[1] about 12 feet high, excluding a view of the surrounding country as also of the other parts of the palace. At the end of each stair is a small building with a door on the right and left leading from the landing to the roof of the apartments. A narrow stair in the side of this structure leads to a small platform on its roof, on which stands a small cupola on 4 pillars. The soffits of these cupolas are painted with geometrical designs. At each of the three corners of the roof of the Ladies' Apartments is a small but handsome chamber 12 feet 4 inches square, with openings on all sides and windows on the two sides towards the country leading to projecting balconies, which were once closed by stone *jālīs*. These are very fine rooms and they have been

[1] The upper part of these walls is decorated with paintings.

provided with deep sloping *chhajjas* on the side facing the interior courts. Their roofs are flat, the slabs being arranged in the form of diminishing squares. Three hanging stairs lead to the roofs of these rooms, and mortices in the steps of the stairs indicate that railings or balustrades were also provided as a protection to the persons using them. At the south end of the west wing is a small square chamber (of which the roof has fallen away) through which communication was afforded to the Khwābgāh and the upper storey of the Shīsh Maḥal.

The Āina or Shīsh Maḥal. This building forms the chief feature of the Flower Garden and was probably allotted to the chief's favourite wife. It is a two-storeyed building situated on a raised terrace, on three sides of which is a steep ascent leading to small octagonal reservoirs. On the 4th or west side are two stairs, but there is no cistern.

The exterior of the building is extremely plain—each side having three doors in front with a *chhajja* some way above them, and a domed balcony and six small windows higher up, the high parapet walls being surmounted by *kanguras*. The lower storey consists of 9 rooms: a large square chamber in the centre, a closed verandah in the middle of each side, and a small room in each corner. The verandahs (26 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ft. 10 ins. each) have each three doors in front, and a high vaulted roof. Some of the niches in the verandahs are very fine. The corner rooms are very pleasing with hemispherical roofs, and have two doors opening towards the verandahs and 4 small windows, one on each side, at a height of about 8 feet from the floor. The rooms towards the south end are octagonal in plan, while those on the north are square. The central chamber is large and handsome (24 ft. 8 ins. by 17 ft. 2 ins.) and has a door with a window above it in the middle of each side. The chamber is covered by a dome in the middle and a semi-dome at each end, the central dome being supported on 4 arches. These domes and semi-domes are not visible on the outside.

A broad stair from the verandah on the east side leads up to the second storey (see plan). Above the stair is a small building, through the middle of which runs a vaulted passage connecting the roof of the north verandah with a large platform forming the roof of the central chamber below. At the east end of this building is a high arch opening into another broad stair which affords access to a small platform, over which there was originally a cupola on four pillars, commanding a fine view of the country around, as well as of the palace buildings. The cupola has disappeared now.

In the corners, exactly above the corner rooms in the lower storey, are four small rooms about 8 feet square, each entered through a small door in front and lighted by one or two windows. The rooms are covered by small hemispherical domes; but internally the ceilings are flat and consist of stone flags arranged in diminishing squares. Around the niches in the room at the south-west corner is a margin of decoration in floral forms. Externally, the rooms have shallow *chhajjas* on two sides.

The surrounding parapet wall is about 10 feet high and is pierced with 5 windows on each side, of which the central ones lead into projecting domed balconies. The wall is surmounted by a *kangura* parapet.

As mentioned before, the second storey of the Āīna Maḥal communicates with the Khwābgāh or Throne Room through a door near the south-west room.

To proceed to the buildings south of the Flower Garden :—

Block G.—A passage through room No. 1 in the south-west corner of the Ladies' Apartments leads into the eastern portion of the Eunuch's quarters whence a large arched gateway (with benches for the guards) gives access to a small court (G) with pillared verandahs on the south and west sides. This, according to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, was probably the place where women waited for admission into the Eunuch's Quarters (F) either to sell commodities or to be carried into the Ladies' Apartments. The passage from without was through the alley and the door in court (M). The gate with benches formed the only entry into the interior.

Block K.—This consists of an open court surrounded by a pillared gallery on three sides and was probably used as the Governor's kitchen.

Court M.—This open space seems to have served as a general route of communication. It has a small tank in the middle, which may have been used by domestics.

Block L.—A door in the west wall of *M* leads, through a small chamber into the block of buildings marked (L) in the plan. This block consists of two rooms on the east side, a pillared hall and an oblong room serving as a passage on the west, and a small dark chamber and an oblong room, with an open gallery in front of the latter, on the south side. The *chhajja* over the southern gallery is continued on all three sides. The flat roof of the pillared hall to west is now supported by two semi-circular arches. The room to its south only served as a passage, and has doors on 3 sides of it connecting the building with the Baths (N) and the Phūl Maḥal; while another door in its west wall opens into a stair leading to the roof of the building. A door from the hall on the south side of (L) leads into the Bath area, marked (N) in the plan, containing an oblong courtyard with the *Ḥammāms* to east. The *Ḥammāms* consist of a small low domed ante-chamber giving access to a cold bath, behind which is a hot bath with a boiler at the back. Both the bath-rooms are covered by low hemispherical domes and have a large arched recess on the south side, where there is a rectangular reservoir about 4 ft. 3 ins. deep, probably for holding water. A large slab of red sandstone supported on short legs occurs along the west wall of the cold bath, and in the east wall of the hot bath are two rectangular cells with a (?) metal pipe embedded in the partition between them. The cells probably contained hot water, for under the cell on the north can be seen a small chamber in which was apparently accommodated the furnace for heating the water. From the ante-chamber a door on the east leads into a small retiring closet. At the back of the baths is an elevated terrace with a reservoir on the top. Water was probably supplied to the hot bath from this reservoir.

Nāch Ghar or Dīwān-i-Āmm. A door in the south wall of (N) leads into the block (O) which consists of a long open gallery (37 ft. by 9 ft. 4 ins.) with a hall (36 ft. 10 ins. by 13 ft. 10 ins.) behind it on the west and a similar gallery (now in ruins) with a small square room at its south end on the east side of a small courtyard. These apartments appear to have been intended either as places of repose after bathing or perhaps for the Rājā's attendants in waiting. A stair in the south-west corner leads first to a projecting balcony which overlooks the so-called *Nāch Ghar* on the south and then passes on to the flat roof of the gallery and hall on the west side. The hall communicated with the Phūl Maḥal area on the west by a small door in the back wall, but this has latterly been blocked up. In the centre of the courtyard of this building is a reservoir (7 ft. 8 ins. square and 4 ft. 5 ins. deep), and a small door in the south wall leads into the large building known as the *Nāch Ghar*. This building measures internally 88½ ft. north to south by 73 ft. east to west, and consists of a large open courtyard surrounded on three sides with pillared galleries shaded by deep *chhajjas* in front. The galleries, of which that on the east side has nearly all fallen, have flat roofs, composed of stone slabs laid across heavy transverse stone beams carried on the back wall and the pillars in front. Some of the beams in the south gallery have cracked and are now supported on masonry piers. According to the local tradition this building was a *Nāch Ghar* or 'Dancing hall'. The Rājā, it is said, used to take his seat in the projecting balcony near the north-west corner, while the dancers and singers performed in the court in front. A door in the east wall of this building leads to a small open court (Q) with a long chamber on the north and a ruinous gallery on the south. This is said to have been intended for the accommodation of the dancers and singers. It is doubtful, however, if the *Nāch Ghar* was used for the purpose ascribed to it; and it seems more probable that it served as the Dīwān-i-'Āmm or Hall of Public Audience. It is situated near the other official buildings, namely the Bāradarī and Phūl Maḥal, and is, moreover, of similar arrangement to the Dīwān-i-'Āmm at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. There is no other building answering the requirements of a Public Audience Hall except the one under review and an Audience Hall was an essential feature of all Mughal Palaces.

Phūl Maḥal. An arched gateway at the N.-W. corner of the so-called *Nāch Ghar* leads out to a large open court (D); and a small door to right (*i.e.*, in the wall to north of D) opens into a small area, from the S.-W. corner of which a flight of steps leads up to a high terrace on which is situated the building known as the Phūl Maḥal or "Palace of Flowers" (Fig. 100). Under this terrace are some small recesses on the east side, a long cellar on the south, and a gallery supported on square buttresses, with a long cellar behind it, on the north side. The terrace on which the *Phūl Maḥal* is situated measures 65 ft. 4 ins. north to south by 45 ft. 2 ins. east to west; and on the south and west the walls of the building rise uninterruptedly from the open areas B and D. The Phūl Mahal measures 45 ft. 4 ins. by 41 ft.

and occupies practically the whole of the large terrace, leaving only a margin about 4 feet wide on the east and an open terrace 20 feet wide on the north front, which forms the roof of the gallery and cellar below. The building consists of a spacious hall (32 ft. 8 ins. by 14 ft. 2 ins.) in the centre and a gallery (31 ft. by 13 ft. 9 ins.) on each side front and back). Both the galleries and the central hall have three small doors in each side and one door at each end—the latter leading into small open verandahs behind a single arch and measuring 7 ft. 8 ins. by 5 ft. 6 ins. The flat roofs of the galleries are supported on beams resting on brackets on the top of lofty octagonal pillars of the same type as those used in the Bāradarī. The bases and capitals of the pillars are carved. Above the openings of the galleries and side verandahs externally is a deep *chhajja* which continues around all four fronts.

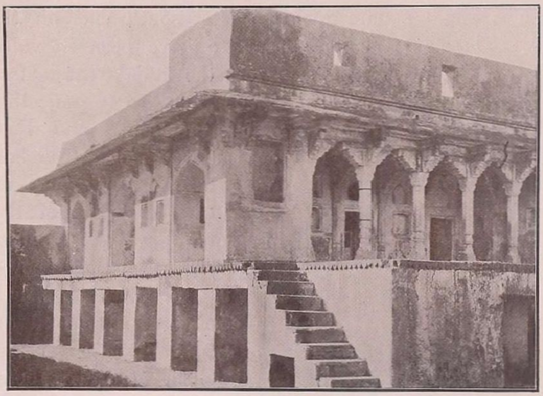


FIG. 100.—Palace: Phūl Maḥal; Rohtāsgaṛh.

The small verandahs at the ends have no direct communication with each other. At the west side of the terrace a stair leads up to the roof, which is surrounded by a parapet wall some 6½ feet high on the north but only about 3 feet on the other sides. The roof of the centre hall is flat and is supported on heavy stone beams resting on square pillars built into the walls.

In the middle of the hall was a cistern with a water jet, which is said to have been destroyed when the building was adapted to accommodate the family of Nawwāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān. All that now remains of it is the channel round the edge and a raised border of lotus leaves. The walls of the Phūl Maḥal are relieved, both inside and out, by numerous niches, and ornamented with floral and geometrical paintings and figures of vases, etc., and it is probably on account of this decoration that the building is called Phūl Maḥal. Traces of some of these paintings still exist here and there. They have been sadly damaged in the removal of whitewash, with which they were covered many years ago. The building was possibly used by Rājā Mān Singh as his office and perhaps also as the Dīwān-i-Khāṣṣ. It is a fine set of apartments well adapted for a cool place of retreat.

Two stairs at the north-west and north-east corners of the terrace lead down to an open area (I) on the north, in the centre of which was a reservoir with a water jet; while a gallery and two dark cells in the north-east corner probably provided accommodation for the Rājā's attendants in waiting.

Opposite the gallery is a large door on the west connecting the Phūl Maḥal area with the Court known as Raushan Shahīd-kā-Chauk (E). On either side of the entrance are stone benches for the guards, and at their western ends two small dark cells, possibly for holding ammunition. Adjoining the gateway, on the south, a stair ascends to its flat roof, and near the stair a passage leads into a retiring closet, to south of which is the door of a small chamber affording communication with the open Court in front of the Bāradarī.

Courtyard in front of the Palace. In front of the west facade of the Palace is a large rectangular area measuring 520 feet north to south by 274 feet east to west, and surrounded by a high enclosure wall with an arcaded gallery on its inner side and a large gateway in each of its north, south and west walls. As will be seen from the plan, these features have no exact relation to the facade of the palace, and none of the three gateways which give access to the courtyard is in the centre of its respective side. The gallery (much of which has now disappeared) provided a covered space of 9 feet to 9½ feet in width and was not sub-divided into separate rooms by partition walls. According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton the gallery served as a barracks for the men immediately attached to the Governor's person. At each end of the north wall of the courtyard is a round hollow bastion, surmounted by a cupola on four square pillars, where, it is said, large drums (*naqqāras*) were kept.

Of the gateways on the three sides of the courtyard the one on the west is the best preserved. It is a three-storeyed structure with two narrow staircases on the inner side leading to the upper storeys, which originally served as the *Naubat Khāna* or Music Hall. Below, in the floor of this entrance, may be seen the remains of an aqueduct which used to carry water to the Palace buildings from a tank situated at a distance of about 100 yards west of the gateway. Built in the masonry of the aqueduct is a small drain of earthen pipes about 4 ins. in diameter, which was probably used for carrying drinking water to the palace. Of the well which supplied water for the palace nothing but a low mound of stones marking its site is now extant near the western extremity of the aqueduct.

Close to the *Naubat Khāna* gateway, to south, is a very deep tank, and in its south-west corner is a square structure reared on four pointed arches, where the machinery for raising water was erected. On three sides of the tank—north, south and west—is a deep continuous drain probably to supply water for the horses, etc.

Some 50 yards to south-west of the barracks was a two-storeyed house, probably of an officer of some standing, which is now entirely in ruins. In front of the house to north was a garden within an enclosing wall, few traces of which remain. Indications of a stone drain still exist here, and the graves on a large platform in front are said to contain the relics of some of the occupants of the house.

On the outer face of the ruined south gateway of the courtyard is a small niche with the Qurānic verse (لا اكراه في الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغي

"There is no compulsion in religion, the Right path is distinct from the wrong") incorrectly engraved on its jambs.

(*g*) i-ii. On the south face of the inner gateway, opposite the Bāradarī, are three inscriptions, one in Sanskrit and two in Persian. The latter are written in Nast'alīq characters and read as follows:—

(۱) این تاریخ در زمان سلطان جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی خلدالله ملکه و سلطانه

(۲) دروازه مقیم بنائی چو شد تمام * دروازه سپهر ز رشکش سقیم شد

(۳) سال عمارتش چو نمودم به طبع گفت * از راجه مانسنگ بنائی مقیم شد

(۴) تحریر فی التاریخ بیست و هفتم شهر رجب‌المرجب سنه هزار و پنج - الف ع

Translation (*i*).

L. 1. On this date, in the time of Sulṭān Jalālud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his supremacy,

L. 2. When this strong gateway was completed the arch of heaven became weak (or fell ill) with envy.

L. 3. I asked genius for the date of its construction, and it replied, "Rājā Mān Singh has built a strong building."

L. 4. Written on this the 27th day of the blessed month of Rajab in the year one thousand and five. Alf and (letter) *'ain*.

The first and fourth lines of this inscription are in prose and the second and third in verse. The last two words are without doubt الف ع of which الف *alf* means 'a thousand' and ع ('ain) seemingly stands for پنج the Persian equivalent of خمس (five).

(ii) This short inscription consists of 6 lines of practically one word each:—

پروهت سریدر - داروغه بل بهدر - استاد مبارک

Ll. 1-6. Priest Srīdar.
Dārogha Bal Bhadr.
(Architect) Ustād Mubārak.

(iii) The Sanskrit inscription reads as follows:—

Above the first line: Saṁvat 1654.

L. 1. Śrī Gaṇeśāya nama h*!) aṁbhodhīshu rase (ṁ*) du.

L. 2. bhiḥ parimite puṇyām (ṇya) yanē hāyanē chaitre.

L. 3. māsi valaṁksha (?) pakshē (ksha) valite shashyaṁ (shṭhyāṁ) tithau Śi.

L. 4. tagoḥ vārē sarva-girīṁdra-vaṁśa-tilake Śrī-Rō.

L. 5. hitāśvāchale śrīman-Māna-mahī-maheṅdra-sadanō.

L. 6. ddhārāṁ vyagāt=pūrṇatāṁ | | | śrīmah rājādhirā.

L. 7. ja-mahārāja—śrī-Mānasi (ṅha*) purohita-śrīdha-

L. 8. rādhikārē Bhaṭṭa-Balabhadreṇa kāritaṁ śubham=astu.

---

* The figures given in the brackets contain the date. The unit figure is 4 and the *ambodhi* in Sanskrit means an ocean as well as the number 4. The decimal figure is 5; the Sanskrit word for the *arrows* stands for 5, because of the five arrows of Kāma-Deva the Hindū Cupid. Similarly the word *rasas* means "tastes" and as there are six tastes it stands for 6—the hundred figure. And of course there is only one moon. Hence the date is 1654 Samvat=1597A.D.=the date of the construction of the gateway.

Translation.

"Salutation to Gaṇeśa. During the year measured by the seas (4), arrows (5) rasas (6) and the moon (1)* in the meritorious half of the year, in the month of Chaitra, on the sixth day of the dark half (of the month), on Monday—the repairs to the palace of the illustrious king Māna were completed on the mountain Rohitāśva, the scion of the race of all great mountains.

Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra, under the authority of Śrīdhara, the family priest of the illustrious Mānasiṁha, king of kings, overlord, caused this (composition) to be made. May there be happiness."

(*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 364; Dist. Gazet. Shahabad, 151-2; Martin's Eastern India, I, 439-54; A. S. R. (1902-03), 58-59; A. S. R., E. C., (1902) 22; and (1904), 9. (*k*) 187, 188, 1019-22, 1704-09, 2301-07, 2242-48.

No. 55.—(*a*) The Rohtāsan Temple.

(*b*) Some two miles to north-east of the Palace and about a furlong from the Phulwariā Ghat, on the top of a steep conical promontory ascended by a long flight of steps; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) Late Mediæval.

(*f*) The Rohtāsan temple occupies a most commanding position on the top of a prominent hillock to north-east of the Palace. It stands on a high terrace, raised on arches, measuring 91 ft. 6 ins. east to west by 54 ft. north to south, and is approached by a grand staircase of 83 steps flanked by stepped walls on either side. Above the larger terrace is another about 59 ft. by 50 ft. and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. This was covered by the dome of a *maṇḍapa* which has now disappeared, and at the back or east of it is the sanctum. A broken figure of a bull (Nandi) is placed on the floor of the *maṇḍapa*. Two small stairs, one on either side of the temple, lead down to the larger terrace on which is situated the sanctum. The plinths of the temple and porch are both relieved with bold horizontal mouldings. In plan the sanctum is a square of 28 feet outside. Each side of the square breaks forward in 4 small projections, like the Orissa temples, and on the central projections are carved small figures of fighting elephants. The walls are decorated with bold mouldings broken by deep vertical grooves and horizontal chases—which combine to produce an artistic effect of light and shade. In each of the central projections on the north, south and east is a niche which formerly contained images of minor

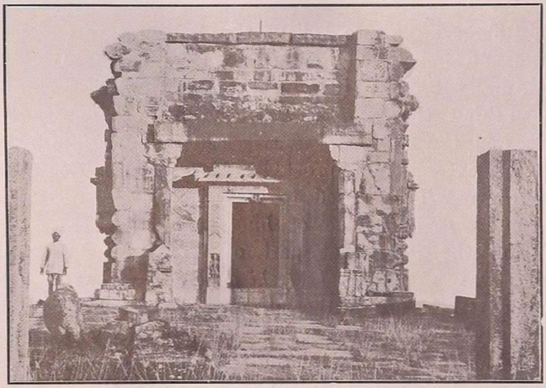


Fig. 101.—Rohtāsan temple, Rohtasgaṛh.

deities. The tower of the sanctum has fallen. The only carving is to be seen on the front, where the door jambs and lintel and the walls on either side of the entrance are decorated with rows of lotus flowers in low relief. Above a shallow *chhajja* shading the doorway are two panels carved with 4 rude figures of *Brahmany* geese in pairs holding lotus buds in their joined beaks. In the middle of the lintel is a small figure of Gaṇeśa and at the lower portion of the door jambs a figure of a Dvārapāla (gate-keeper) on either side, standing in a niche.

Internally, the sanctum is 13 ft. 7 ins. square. In each side are 4 square pillars built into the walls, on which an octagon is formed by beams laid across the nearest pillars at each corner; and the roof is formed in the usual Hindu style by arranging the slabs in diminishing octagons. The floor is level with that of the *maṇḍapa* in front. There is no image in the temple, but a rough broken stone, partly buried in the floor, is worshipped as Śiva's *liṅga*. Under the large staircase are four arched chambers on the north and three on the south; and under the terrace are two similar chambers on the north with low arched doorways, and one on the south.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton calls this temple the Chaurī (or seat) of Rohitāśva. He also considers that the large staircase was probably built by Rājā Mān Singh.

Many of the writers on Rohtās appear to believe the tradition, recorded by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, that an image of Rohitāśva was worshipped in this temple until the time of Aurangzīb, who it is alleged destroyed the image and built a small mosque behind the temple. But the mere absence of a cult image from the temple and the existence of a mosque do not prove the truth of this tradition. It is extremely improbable that Prince Rohitāśva, the son of Rājā Hariśchandra, was ever raised to the dignity of a god (like Rāmachandra or Krishṇa), and that an image of him could ever have been the object of worship. Again, the facts that part of the temple was still intact and that the mosque was a "*wretched looking brick mosque*" built on a ledge behind the temple terrace are further incompatible with the tradition; for Aurangzīb could easily have razed the whole temple to the ground and utilized its materials in building a *stone* mosque on the same site. The truth more probably is that the Rohtāsan temple was a Śaivite temple, dedicated to the protecting deity of the hill; that the temples in Rohtās generally were deserted after Rājā Mān Singh's departure, and in course of time the images were either damaged or removed to some other place; and that the mosque was built in the ordinary way—its smallness being accounted for by the peculiarity of the site, which restricted the space available between it and the temple to its west to a distance of some 10 feet only. The mosque in question has recently been dismantled on the recommendation of Sir John Marshall, the Director General of Archæology in India, with a view to the improvement of the site.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 362-64; Martin's Eastern India, I., 438; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 153; A. S. R. (1902-03), 59. (*k*) 1013-14, 1711, 2317, 2456-57.

No. 56.—(*a*) Hariśchandra Temple.

(*b*) Close to the staircase leading up to the Rohtāsan; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) Probably erected by Rājā Mān Singh some time between the years $\frac{996 \text{ A. H.}}{1586 \text{ A. D.}}$ and $\frac{1015 \text{ A. H.}}{1606 \text{ A. D.}}$

(*f*) At the foot of the large stair of the Rohtāsan, a few yards to north-west, is an interesting little temple probably built by Rājā Mān Singh and

FIG. 102.—The Rohtāsan and Hariśchandra temples, Rohtāsgarh.

now known as the temple of Hariśchandra, the father of Rohitāśva. It is situated on a raised terrace 38 ft. square and 5 ft. 5 ins. high, with three projections on the north, south, and west for steps. The principal façade is on the west. The temple consists of a small square sanctum surrounded by a verandah and covered by an octagonal dome, with 4 smaller domes at the sides, each supported on four square pillars. These smaller domes cover the central portion of the verandah on each side. On the inside, their roofs are constructed in a series of diminishing squares, and appear externally as octagonal domes, the edges of the facets being marked by raised stone ribs. The sanctum is 21 feet square externally and its walls are relieved with niches, which probably contained images of minor deities. There are two niches in each front, one on either side of the entrance, except on the east where there are three niches. The large dome covering the sanctum is also octagonal on the outside and, like the smaller domes, the faces of the octagon are bounded by raised stone ribs.

Inside, the sanctum is a square of 13 ft. 8 ins. and the dome, which is 8-sided, with raised ribs in the angles, rests on the octagon formed in the same way as in the Rohtāsan Temple—four pillars being built against the

walls on each side for this purpose. The pillars are square below and octagonal above. Against the east wall of the temple is a *medhī* or plinth, measur-

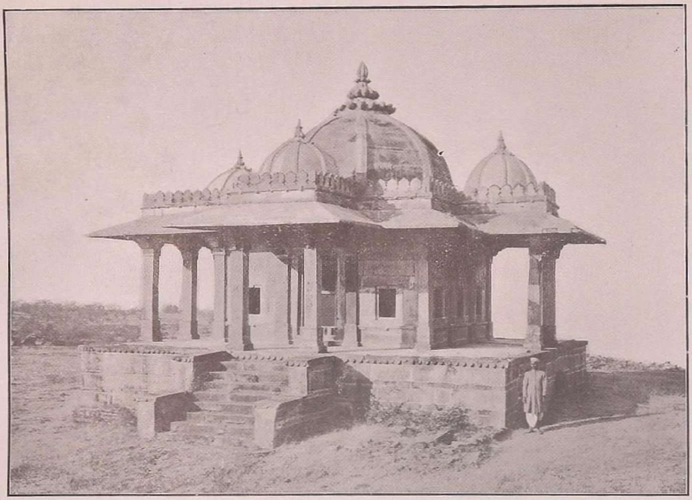


FIG. 103.—Hariśchandra temple, Rohtāsgaṛh.

ing 4 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. and 14 ins. high, possibly indicating that the temple was dedicated to Vishṇu.

A broken piece of sculpture representing the pedestal and legs of a standing human figure is placed at the back of the temple. The figure wears anklets and *dhotī* and a sword hangs from a belt on the left side, while portions of attendants still exist on either hand. The sculpture, which is ascribable to the Mediæval period, is carved on a slab measuring 3 ft. by 2 ft. 2 ins.

Some 40 feet to south of the Hariśchandra temple is what appears to have been a square structure of dry stone masonry. It is some 25 feet across and about 8 feet high. It is said by some to have been the seat (*baiṭhak*) of Rohitāśva; others say that a *Tulsī* plant used to grow from its top.

About a furlong to south-west of the Rohtāsan and Hariśchandra Temples is the Phulwariā Ghāt, the fortifications of which are now in a ruinous condition. After a descent of about 15 feet, a small boulder is reached, on the south face of which is carved the inscription in 5 lines, which is referred to in detail on page 153 under "the Fort" (No. 53).

The other Phulwārī inscription mentioned in the Gazetteer, which records that Pratāpa-Dhavala, chief of Japila, constructed a road up the hill, is not traceable.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B. 364; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 153; A. S. R. (1902-03), 59; Martin's Eastern India, I, 438. (*k*) 353, 2317, 2458.

No. 57.—(*a*) Ḥabash Khān's Mosque.

(*b*) Near the Ghāzī Darwāza, about half a mile from the Bungalow; (*c*) Government. (*d*) II a; (*e*) $\frac{\text{986 A. H.}}{\text{1578 A. D.}}$

(*f*) Ḥabash Khān's Mosque is a fine three-domed building of greyish white sandstone and consists of a prayer hall measuring 75 ft. by 28 ft. (outside) with a courtyard 75 ft. by 73 ft. in front, surrounded by a compound wall 5½ ft. high. A single arched doorway in the east side of the compound wall gives access to the court, about half of which is paved with irregular stone flags, the other half (nearer the mosque) having a fine lime-concreted floor. The hall is entered through 3 arches, over the central one of which is a small square slab of buff sandstone bearing the Persian inscription given below. On either side of the inscription are bosses and slabs of several varieties of stone carved with traceries or *jālī* designs. These appear to have been recovered from debris and inserted at the time when the mosque was repaired in 1905. There is no symmetry in their arrangement, nor does one design agree with the other.

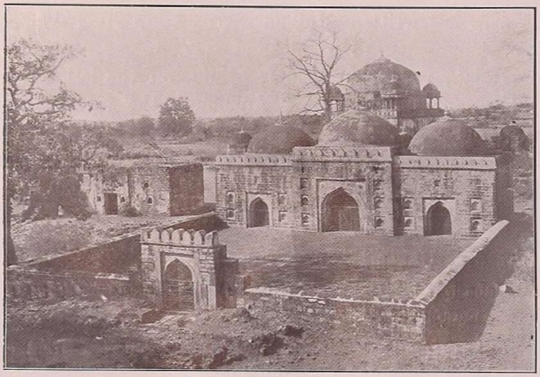


Fig. 104.—Ḥabash Khān's Mosque, Rohtāsgaṛh.

Internally, the prayer hall measures 65 ft. 6 ins. by 17 ft. 6 ins., and is divided by transverse arches into 3 compartments, which have been strengthened by two modern semi-circular arches built under their soffits. The 3 domes rest, as is usual, each on a square, formed by the transverse arches and the lateral walls, which is converted into an octagon by smaller arches at the angles, then into a sexta-decagon and finally into a circle carrying the hemispherical dome.

On either side of the *miḥrāb*, as well as above it, are small niches and bosses with beautiful floral designs.

(*g*) Over the central arch of the prayer hall is a Persian inscription of four couplets reading as follows:—

(۱) اكبر غازي آنكه از رفعت * مي كد رخش او بگردون سير

(۲) در زمان چنين شهنشاهی * كه بفرمان اوست وحش و طير

(۳) بود درخاطر، اين حبش خانرا * كه كند مسجد از برائے خير

(۴) سال تاريخ مسجد عالي * شد ز روئے حساب بقعهٔ خير

Translation.

"In the time of the Emperor Akbar, the warrior King, whose dignity is such that his horse walks in the Heavens, and whose command bird and beast obey, Ḥabas͟h K͟hān desired to erect a mosque for good deeds (*i.e.*, prayers). The year of the construction of this lofty mosque according to the system (of chronogrammatic calculation) is 'The house of good deeds'." (986 A.H.=1578 A.D.).

On the borders of the slab are written Kalima above, نصرمن الله و فتح قریب (with God's help victory is imminent) to right and در تاریخ شهر رجب سنه ۹۸۶ *i.e.* "(dated the month of Rajab, year 986) below; while on the left are two words which appear to stand for بشر المومنین ("Announce the joyful tidings to the Faithful") from a Quranic verse.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 153; A. S. R. (1902-03), 59; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 22; (*k*) 351, 1016, 2311.

No. 58.—(*a*) The Madrasa of Ḥabas͟h K͟hān.

(*b*) Some 10 feet south of Ḥabas͟h K͟hān's Mosque (No. 57), (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) Probably contemporary with the mosque.

(*f*) The Madrasa or School is a small building (42 ft. 6 ins. by 20 ft. 3 ins.) consisting of a long hall entered through a single door on the east and divided into 3 rooms by partition walls with doors. The end rooms are lighted by two small windows in the back wall. In front of the house was a courtyard, at the south end of which a staircase leads up to the roof. The building is called a Madrasa or School, but from its design it seems more probably to have been a private house. If so, it would be the only example of an old private house of the ordinary type still existing at Rohtās, and should be carefully preserved.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Not good. (*j*) *Nil.* (*k*) No photos.

No. 59.—(*a*) Tomb of Ḥabas͟h K͟hān.

(*b*) Near the G͟hāzī Darwāza, about half a mile to north-west of the Inspection Bungalow, and a few yards to west of the Ḥabas͟h K͟hān's mosque (No. 57); (*c*) Government; (*d*) I a; (*e*) 16th Century A.D.

(*f*) The tomb stands in the middle of a large courtyard enclosed by a parapetted wall about 6 feet high relieved with arched recesses on both faces. At the four corners of the compound wall and projecting beyond it are 4 hexagonal pavilions surmounted by domes and pierced by arched openings, one in each of the free sides. Originally the pavilions, which are about 9 ft. 2 ins. in diameter, communicated only with the courtyard of the tomb, but now these entrances have been closed and the filling in all the other arches has been removed, so that the chambers are entered from without. A small doorway of the lintel-headed type in the middle of the east wall leads into the courtyard which measures 103 ft. 9 ins. by 96 ft. 9 ins. The tomb stands in the centre of

this court, and forms a square 48 ft. 6 ins. externally. At a height of some 25 feet the square changes into an octagon, which is surmounted by a large hemispherical

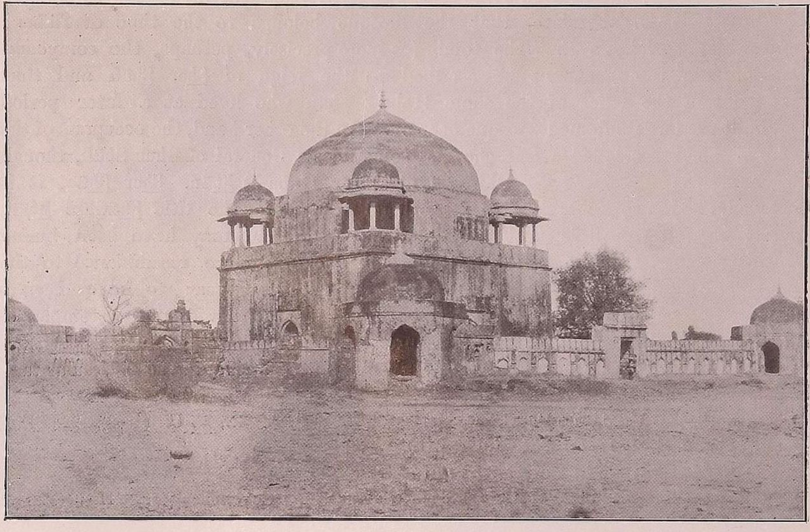


FIG. 105.—Tomb of Ḥabash Khān, Rohtāsgarh.

dome. Four small cupolas resting on six hexagonal pillars crown the four corners of the roof. The pillar capitals of the cupolas are also hexagonal in shape and are relieved with falling lotus leaves of a somewhat heavy design. Access to the inside of the tomb is gained through two large arched entrances on the south and east. Internally, the tomb measures 35 ft. 4 ins. square. The walls are relieved by three arches in each side and are changed into an octagon at a height of about 12 feet by cross arches, immediately above which the walls assume the form of a sextadecagon, on which rests the great dome. The walls of the tomb, it may be observed, are built of stone masonry, while the dome appears to be wholly of brick. An iron chain about a yard in length is suspended from the summit of the dome. It is said to have once reached to within 6 feet of the floor. The grave of Ḥabash Khān occupies the centre of the tomb. It is placed on a stepped plinth, and was once covered with a fine plaster.

A small *Qanātī* mosque is attached to the southern compound wall of the tomb. It is noteworthy in as much as one of its towers stands actually within the courtyard. The compound wall on this side has not been carried straight on account of this mosque, which must therefore be considered earlier than the tomb it adjoins. In style the mosque resembles the numerous tombs scattered about this neighbourhood, one of which—that of Sāqī Sulṭān—bears a Persian inscription, dated 987 A.H. (1578 A.D.).

The fort of Rohtāsgaṛh appears to have come into the possession of the Mughal Emperors in 984 A. H. when Sayyid Muḥammad, the commander of Junaid Karārānī, surrendered it to Shahbāz Khān Kamboh, an officer of Akbar. The inference is, therefore, that the mosque belongs to the time of Akbar; from which it follows that the tomb (or more precisely, perhaps, the compound wall of the tomb) cannot be ascribed to the reign of Sher Shāh and thus may contain the relics of the same Ḥabash Khān who lived at a later period and built the large 3-domed mosque near by. On the other hand, the occupant of the tomb is sometimes called a Dārogha and sometimes a General of Sher Shāh, though the name is pronounced as Hawas (vulgar for Ḥabash) Khān. Sher Shāh, it is recorded, had two generals (both brothers) who bore the title Khawāss Khān, and it is quite possible that the elder Khawāṣṣ Khān may have been buried in this tomb. In style, however, the tomb lacks a close resemblance to the tombs at Sassaram; and the cupolas at the corners appear to have been a common decorative motif at Rohtāsgaṛh, even the Hariśchandra temple of Rājā Mān Singh containing these features.

At the north-west corner of the tomb enclosure (outside) is a semi circular tank now partly silted up.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) A. S. R. (1902-03), 59; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 22; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 153. (*k*) 352, 1017, 2449.

No. 60.—(*a*) Tomb of Mīrzā Abul'Ulā.

(*b*) Some 30 yards to east of Ḥabash Khān's mosque; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) 1132 A.H. (1719 A. D.).

(*f*) The tomb of Mīrzā Abul'Ulā consists of a small grave of grey sandstone. There is nothing noteworthy about it, but from the inscription on it, it appears to contain the relics of the son of a grandee of the Mughal court. The inscription is here noticed for the first time.

(*g*) On the grave itself is carved a Persian inscription of 2 lines reading as follows:—

مرزا ابوالعلی نبیرۂ نواب امیرالامرا (غازیخان ؟)
واقعه بیست و هفتم محرم الحرام سنه ۱۱۳۲ هجری

Translation.

(1) Mīrzā Abul'Ulā grandson of the Nawwāb Amīrul-Umarā (?) Ghāzī Khān

(2) His death occurred on the 27th of the month of Muḥarram in the year 1132 (A.H.).

(*h*) Fair. (*j*) *Nil.* (*k*) 2451.

No. 61.—(*a*) Ẓafar Shahīd's tomb.

(*b*) A few yards to the south-east of the Ghāzī Gate and some 50 yards to east of the mosque of Ḥabash Khān; (*c*) Government; (*d*) III; (*e*) Probably 16th-17th century A.D.

(*f*) The mausoleum, which measures 27 feet square externally and 19 feet square internally, consists of a single square chamber covered by a hemispherical dome and lighted by an arched opening in each side. The dome rests on an octagon above the square. All the four walls are badly cracked and the building will be a mass of ruins in a few years. Centrally placed under the dome is a single stone grave.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Bad. (*j*) *Nil.* (*k*) No photos.

No. 62.—(*a*) Tomb of Sāqī Sulṯān.

(*b*) About 100 yards to south-east of Ḥabash Khān's Mosque; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.).

(*f*) The tomb of Sāqī Sulṯān stands in the middle of an enclosure 46 feet square (externally). At the four corners of the enclosure are four round tapering minarets, with two more flanking the *miḥrāb* or prayer niche in the west wall. The grave of Sāqī Sulṯān is placed on a low terrace (16 ft. 5 ins. by 16 ft.) and covered by a cupola resting on eight massive pillars of stone, three on each side. The pillars are square, except one which is octagonal in the upper part and is carved on the west face with a niche containing a seated female figure. The openings were shaded by a *chhajja* on all sides, which has now fallen. Above the pillars are heavy stone lintels, on which rest the walls (about 4 feet high) supporting a pyramidal roof. At the four corners of the roof were four small minarets, but only part of one survives. The grave of Sāqī Sultān occupies the central position under the cupola and to the west is a smaller one of some relation or friend. The *miḥrāb* in the west wall is ornamented with fine raised patterns in stucco. Nothing is known of Sāqī Sulṯān. He appears, however, to have held some responsible position under Muḥibb 'Alī Khān Rohtāsī, the then Commander of Rohtāsgaṛh.

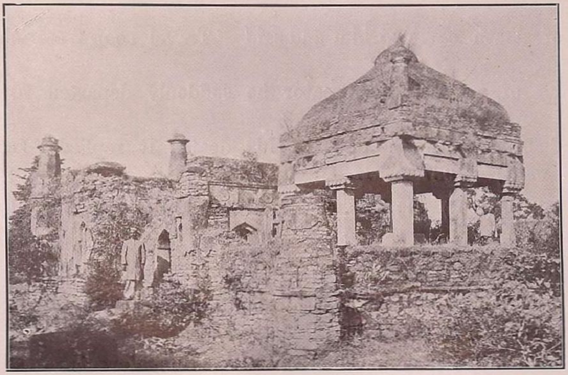


FIG. 106.—Tomb of Sāqī Sulṯān, Rohtāsgaṛh.

Dr. Bloch read the name as Shāfi Sultān; but this is a mistake. The name is clearly Sāqī on the stone.

(*g*) Over the *miḥrāb* in the west wall is a tablet of buff sandstone bearing the following Persian inscription of 6 couplets in Nast'alīq characters:—

(۱) فغان از گردش چرخ ستمگر * که نبود با کس اورا مهرباني

(۲) جناب ساقي سلطان داشت در دل * که گردد مفتخر با اسم خاني

(۳) قضا را آنچنان رنجور گردید * که از صحت نبود اورا نشانی

(۴) باز پیک اجل آمد بگفتا * سفر کن زود ازین دنیائے فاني

(۵) سفر کرد او ازین عالم بیکدم * بامر کردگار لا مکانی

(۶) بجستم از خرد تاریخ فوتش * بگفتا در بهشت جاوداني

۹۸۷

Translation.

L. 1. "I complain of the movements of the tyrannical heavens, which are kind to none.

L. 2. The revered Sāqī Sultān desired (expected) to be honoured by the title of 'Khān' (but)

L. 3. By mischance he fell so ill that not a trace of health was left to him.

L. 4. The messenger of death came to him and said 'Travel soon from this mortal world'.

L. 5. (So) by the order of the Infinite Creator he suddenly departed from this world.

L. 6. (When) I asked of wisdom the date of his death, it replied 'Into the eternal Paradise' (he went)." 987 A. H.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) A. S. R.; E. C. (1902), 22; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 153. (*k*) 2312, 2453.

No. 63.—(*a*) The Qil'adār's house.

(*b*) About a quarter of a mile to south-west of the Inspection Bungalow, a little beyond the Rājghāt Gateway; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) 16th Century A.D.

(*f*) Some 300 yards to south-west of the Inspection Bungalow is a high arched gateway built at the head of the Rāj Ghāt, which is said to be the easiest ascent to the hill, though it is not used generally now-a-days. In front of the gateway is a high curtain wall with battlements, etc., and opposite to it (on the inside) a spacious square chamber which may have served as the guard room. A stair to south of this room leads up to the walls, which are 10 to 16 feet thick at the top, and to the roof of a block of soldiers' barracks to west. These barracks consist of a single long chamber, entered through one or two doors in the centre of the front wall, and with a flat roof supported on massive pillars of stone. Originally the interior was plastered, but the roofs leak and the plaster has fallen. A similar barrack exists on the other side of the gateway, and a third beyond the Qil'adār's house.

This last "was a very considerable building" when seen by Buchanan Hamilton in the thirties of the last century, "with many apartments and accommodations for a family of women". But now it consists of a few dilapidated rooms ranged on 3 sides of a small courtyard about 92 feet square, and a detached three-storeyed building to their south-east. The three-storeyed building contains, in the lower storey, a central room measuring 19 ft. 6 ins. by 16 ft. 6 ins. and a verandah on the east and west about 8 ft. 9 ins. deep, with 3 doorways on each side. The principal facade seems to be on the north, where 3 doorways placed in high arches lead into the central chamber and the side verandahs. In the back or south wall an opening leads to a narrow passage in the thickness of the wall, which ends in two dark holes each about 4 feet deep. These are believed to have contained ammunition in the old days.

A stair to south of the building leads up to the 2nd storey, which consists of an open terrace on the east enclosed by a high parapet wall, and two small

chambers on the west side. In the east parapet wall a window leads to a balcony. The larger chamber on the west, which measures 18 ft. 4 ins. by 11 ft. 4 ins., is entered through a single large door with *chaukīs* on the east, and is further lighted by a small window in the south wall and a larger one with a balcony in front on the west, commanding an excellent view of the thickly wooded country with the river and distant hills in the background. The room has a flat roof supported on stone beams, and a door in its north wall gives access to the smaller chamber to its north, which measures 11 ft. 4 ins. by 10 ft. 4 ins., and is lighted by a single small window in the west wall.

A long flight of steps along the north wall of the terrace leads up to the roof of the second storey, which is surrounded by a high parapet wall pierced with arched windows of pleasing proportions on all four sides. The windows were originally closed with *jālīs*, and the enclosure really formed a chamber with a vaulted roof. It measures 31 ft. 3 ins. by 11 ft. 5 ins.

Locally this three-storeyed building is known as the Pach-Maḥlā (*i.e.*, five-storeyed house), probably on account of the extraordinary height of its walls.

Close to the Pach-Maḥlā stands another dilapidated house. It consists of two roofless chambers on the west, a double-storeyed room at the further end of the east wing and a detached roofless chamber with doors on all sides, near the north-west corner of the courtyard. Besides these, a suite of three rooms was added at a later date on the north side, for though these rooms are entered through a door in the north wall, they are actually outside the enclosure of the house. There is nothing of importance about this house, of which the south enclosure wall has disappeared. Near the large detached chamber in the middle a stair leads down to a big octagonal underground chamber exactly below the upper one. The double-storeyed east wing consists of a single chamber with a verandah on two sides in the lower storey; and a smaller chamber, which has doors on all sides and a vaulted roof, in the upper. The *chhajja* which surrounded the building is broken. The roof of the verandahs is enclosed by parapet walls, as also is the roof of the three rooms on the north. Probably there was means of communication between the northern roof and the small upper room in the east wing. At the south end of the east enclosure wall is the large door leading into the courtyard, and in front of it to east is a small enclosure. Remains of a large gateway some 30 yards to east of the house indicate that originally there was a large enclosure, probably containing a flower garden, in front of the house.

Many of the door frames of these houses have been removed.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Fair. (*j*) Martin's Eastern India, I, 439. (*k*) 2306.

No. 64.—(*a*) Gaṇeśa Temple.

(*b*) About 200 yards to south-west of the Inspection Bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) Probably 16th century A.D.

(*f*) The Gaṇeśa temple consists of a small sanctum with a *maṇḍapa* in front approached by a flight of 10 steps on the east. It stands on a stone platform about 3 feet high and measuring 34 ft. by 38 ft. 9 ins., with a projection to west for the sanctum and another to east for the staircase. Above this terrace is a plinth 3 ft. 8 ins. high relieved with bold horizontal mouldings. The plinth of the *maṇḍapa* is ornamented with narrow pilasters in low relief on the outside and massive square pilasters on the inner face. They are only 4 ft. 6 ins. high, and on them stand twelve pillars, square below with octagonal and circular segments above and circular caps beneath cruciform brackets, which supported the now fallen roof of the *maṇḍapa*. The massive square pilasters relieving the inner walls of the *maṇḍapa* come exactly below the pillars on the top of the walls, so that at first sight they appear to be one with them. The *maṇḍapa* measures 18 ft. 9 ins. by 18 ft. 7 ins. inside. From a drawing of the temple made by Daniells it appears that the *maṇḍapa* had originally a conical roof. The walls of the sanctum (17 ft. 3 ins. by 14 ft. 6 ins.) are relieved, like those of the Rohtāsan temple, with bold horizontal mouldings broken by chases and grooves. The spire is of the usual form—being decorated with a number of attached miniatures of itself. The *āmalaka* at the top is still intact, but the *kalaśa*, etc., have disappeared.

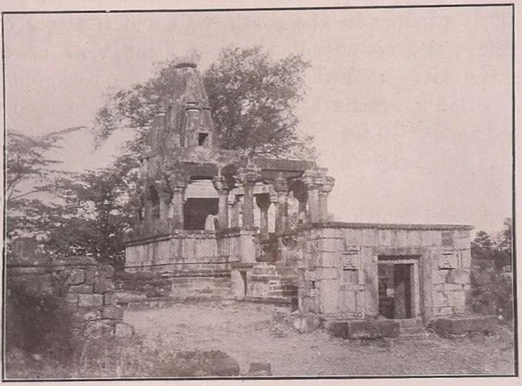


FIG. 107.—Gaṇeśa temple, Rohtāsgaṛh.

Inside, the sanctum, which is 7 ft. 8 ins. square, is covered by a concave roof constructed of stone slabs arranged in diminishing squares. In the summit of the ceiling is a boss enclosed in an octagon. A ledge or *medhī*, 2 ft. 8 ins. high, is built along the whole internal length of the west wall. A modern statue of Gaṇeśa which, it may be observed, is a characteristic feature of the Vaishṇavite temples, is placed on the ledge. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton says that this temple and the one near it, now known as the Mahādeva Mandir, were built by Rājā Mān Singh.

Originally the temple was surrounded by an enclosure wall, sections of which still exist on the east and west. In the east wall is a door opposite the stair. Close to the temple, to the west, is a small chamber covered by a dome.

About 50 yards to east of this temple is another, known as the Mahādeva Mandir, of which only the sanctum is now extant. It measures 15 ft. by 15 ft. 8 ins. outside. The floor has been dug into by treasure seekers, and a *liṅga* is now placed in the pit. The porch or *maṇḍapa*, if there was one, has long disappeared. From the L. A. M. B. (1895) and from the Annual Progress

Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle (1902) it appears that these two temples were not known by any particular names until 1902.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) Martin's Eastern India, p. 439, L. A. M. B. ; 364 ; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 23. (*k*) 1015, 2309.

No. 65.—(*a*) Grave of Shāh Bahāwal Shahīd.

(*b*) Less than a mile from the Palace on the west side of the plateau is a cave overlooking a sheer precipice with a drop of about 1,000 feet. The shrine is situated in this cave ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) III ; (*e*) Not known.

(*f*) In an overhanging rock on the north of the Bhūkhī Khoh (the Hungry Ravine) is a small natural cave slightly enlarged artificially. A flight of rather unsafe steps leads down to a low narrow passage, through which one has practically to crawl to the grave. At the foot of the saint's tomb is a square depression about 4 feet deep, in the south side of which are two windows for light. One of the windows is closed with a stone *jālī*. The view of the forest-covered ravine and steep hill-sides from here is one of surpassing beauty. Above the rock containing the cave on the north side is a large *gira* tree, under which is the grave of Shāh Bahāwal's Pīr, or spiritual adviser, who is said to have lived in natural nudity. The narrow pathway which passes close to the upper grave is known as the Laṅgā ghāṭī (Naked road) and probably derives its name from the Saint.

Bahāwal is evidently an abbreviation for Bahāu-l-Haqq.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Shahabad 153. (*k*) No photos possible.

No. 66.—(*a*) Jām'i Masjid.

(*b*) Some 2 miles from the Palace on the road to the Lāl Darwāza ; (*c*) The whole of the Rohtās hill is Government property ; (*d*) II a ; (*e*) 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.).

(*f*) The Jām'i Masjid is generally known as the Jum'a Masjid or 'Ālamgīrī Masjid, although it was built long before the time of Aurangzīb. It is a fine three-domed mosque of white sandstone, with a high central bay screening the middle dome and decorated with superimposed niches. The prayer hall measures 71 ft. 6 ins. north to south by 27 ft. 3 ins. east to west, externally. The front or east wall is pierced with 3 arched entrances. Above the higher central arch is the Persian inscription given below, and above it again an arched window, the projecting sill of which shades a part of the inscription.

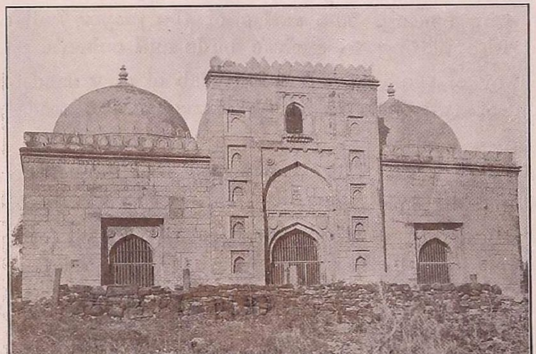


FIG. 108.—Jām'i Masjid, Rohtāsgaṛh.

The cornices of the walls are moulded and decorated with a narrow frieze of trefoil flowers, beneath crowning merlons in relief. Three fine arches give access to the prayer hall, which is divided into three square compartments, each covered by a hemispherical dome on four arches. The square walls are first changed into octagons by filling in the corners with massive overlapping stone-slabs, which are supported on brackets and relieved with small niches on the face. The octagons are then converted into sextadecagons, in the same manner, to support the domes above. Each side of the sextadecagon contains a square recess enclosing a niche relieved with a vase decoration (*gulāb pā<u>sh</u>*). The domes, which appear to have been painted on the undersides, had become unsafe and were thoroughly repaired by the Archæological Department in 1904-05.

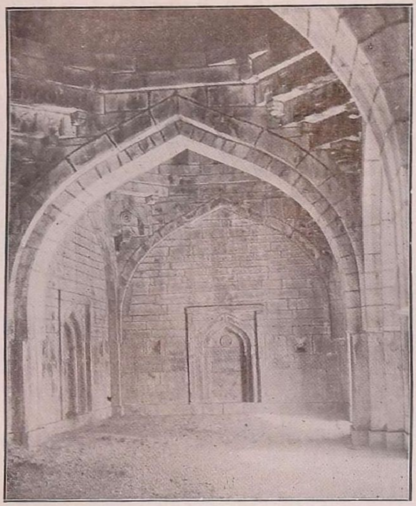


FIG. 109.—Jām'i Masjid, interior; Rohtāsgaṛh.

The central prayer-niche or *miḥrāb* is enclosed by three concentric arches. In the centre of the *miḥrāb* is a small niche, intended either for a lamp or for keeping a copy of the Qurān.

The courtyard in front was originally flagged with stone slabs and probably also enclosed by a compound wall. The pavement is now broken and the courtyard is surrounded by a low wall of dry rubble masonry, in which are set the stone uprights of a wire fencing. The arches of the prayer hall are closed by an iron grill and wire netting to exclude birds and animals.

(*g*) Over the central archway of the prayer hall is a slab of grey sandstone bearing a Persian inscription of two lines in Nas<u>kh</u> characters. It reads as follows :—

(۱) بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم والحمدلله . . . . . باعظم همایون المسمی بهیبتخان لبناء المسجد الجامع فی عهد دولت حضرت سلطان السلاطین مقبول حضرت رب‌العالمین

(۲) نواخته درگاه حضرت شیر شاه زاد الله تعالی ما اعطاه وبلغه الی مایرضاه قال علیه السلام من بنا مسجداً بنی الله له بیتاً فی الجنته و کان ذالک فی الخمسین و تسعمایه من هجرة النبی صلی‌الله علیه وسلم - بفرمائش فرید (صورینی ؟)

Translation.

L. 1. In the name of the Merciful, the most Compassionate Allāh. Praise be to Him. ...... to A'zam Humāyūn, whose real name is Haibat <u>Kh</u>ān, for the construction of the "Jāmi' Masjid" in the reign of the revered Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, chosen and favoured by God, the Nourisher of all the Universe.

Ḥazrat Sher Shāh, may God on High increase what He has bestowed upon him and lead him to that which pleases Him. Says the holy Prophet, peace and blessings of God be upon him, "He who builds a mosque here, God will build for him a house in the Heavens." And this (mosque) was (built) in the year 950 of the Hijrat of the Prophet, blessings of God be upon him. At the request of Farīd (?) Sarwainī.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 152; A. S. R. (1902-03), 58; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 20. (*k*) 1018, 2313-15.

Sassarām.

No. 67.—(*a*) Aśoka inscription.

(*b*) In a small cave now called the Chirāgh-dān or lamp-room of Pīr Chandan Shahīd, and some 30 feet to the west of the Shahīd's grave, which is situated on the summit of the Chandan Pīr Hill some 3 miles east of the town; (*c*) M. 'Abdul Ghanī and others; (*d*) Ic; (*e*) 13th year of Aśoka's reign, — 257 B.C. It is the earliest of Aśoka's Edicts.

(*f*) The Aśoka inscription at Sassarām contains one of the earliest edicts of that Emperor (Minor Rock Edict I). It is engraved on a small boulder and consists of 8 lines in archaic Brāhmī characters covering a space of 3 ft. 5 ins. in length and a little more than a foot in width. A portion of the inscription is damaged; but with the help of the other and more perfect copies of the Edict found at Siddapūr in Mysore State, at Rūpnāth in the Central Provinces, and at Bairāt near Jaipūr (Rājpūtāna), Mr. V. A. Smith has been able to translate the record as follows:—

FIG. 110.—Aśoka inscription in the Chirāgh-dān (cave) west of Chandan Shahīd's tomb, Sassarām.

"*The fruit of exertion.*

"Thus saith His Sacred Majesty:— For more than two years and a half I was a lay disciple, without, however, exerting myself strenuously. But it is more than a year since I joined the Order and have exerted myself strenuously. During that time the gods who were regarded as true all over India have been shown to be untrue. For this is the fruit of exertion. Nor is this to be attained by a great man only, because even by the small man who exerts himself immense

heavenly bliss may be won. And for this purpose has the precept been composed :—

"Let small and great exert themselves." My neighbours, too, should learn this lesson; and may such exertion long endure! And this purpose will grow—yea, it will grow immensely—at least one-and-a-half fold will it increase in growth. And this purpose must be written on the rocks, both afar off and here, and wherever there is a stone pillar it must be written on the stone pillar.

And, according to this text, so far as your jurisdiction extends, you must send it out everywhere. By the 'Traveller' was the precept composed. 256 changes of abode of the Sata (or 'of Satas')."

"The document has been the subject of much learned discussion" says Mr. V. A. Smith, "and general agreement as to its interpretation has not yet been attained. The phrase 'more than two years and a half' should be read, according to some scholars, as either 'thirty-two years and a half,' or as 'thirty-eight years and a half.' Similarly the phrases 'more than a year,' and 'one year, in fact, more than a year' are sometimes converted into 'a period of six years or rather more than six years.' The mysterious concluding sentence is a puzzle difficult to solve. The varying views concerning the meaning of this edict involve widely divergent opinions on the history of Aśoka[1] who in his 11th 'regnal year' (259 B.C.) 'went forth on the road to wisdom (*sambodhi*)' and organized 'pious tours' (Rock Edict VIII), and, as this document informs us, at the same time began to exert himself strenuously. In the course of "more than a year," say some sixteen months, he moved about with such zealous rapidity that he changed his camp or temporary abode 256 times, and so made 256 *vivisas*. As the person who performed this feat, he dubbed himself *Vyutha*, the man on the move, or the 'Traveller.' The final words seem to designate him also as the *Sata*, of which the meaning is doubtful. The main purpose of this edict is to enforce the brief precept "Let small and great exert themselves."

FIG. 111.—Impression of the Aśoka inscription in the Chirāgh-dān, Sassarām.

No copy of this edict has been discovered on a pillar.

[1] Mr. V. A. Smith has embodied in the translation the readings of Mons. E. Senart and of Dr. F. W. Thomas, and he agrees with them that the renderings "more than two years and a half" and "one year, in fact, more than one year" are correct. He also accepts that the figures 256 (repeated in words in the Sassarām version) are not a date and that the word *Vyutha* with its variants refers to Aśoka and not to Buddha or any one else.

(*g*) See above under (*f*). (*h*) A portion of the inscription has peeled off. The epigraph is well protected now. (*j*) Smith, Edicts of Aśoka, 43-45; C. S. R., XI, 133; Smith's Aśoka, 149-52; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 155; I. A., VII, 141—60; C. I. I., I, 95 and 131 and plate XIV, (*k*) 1376, 2468.

No. 68.—(*a*) Tomb of Ḥasan Khān Sūrī.

(*b*) In the centre of the town; (*c*) Government. (*d*) I a; (*e*) Reign of Sher Shāh (1539-1545 A.D.).

(*f*) The tomb of Ḥasan Sūrī stands in the middle of a large courtyard, 345 ft. by 296 ft., surrounded by a high compound wall of ashlar stones, from the four corners of which project four domed turrets. The tomb is a large octagonal hall covered by a dome and enclosed by an open verandah on all sides. Including the verandah the tomb measures 112 feet in diameter. Three pointed arches on each face lead into the verandah, which is 8 feet wide and is covered by a series of 24 small domes, three on each side, resting on transverse arches spanning the arcade. The outer wall of the verandah is 5 feet thick; the buttresses of the arches being 5 ft. by 4 ft. 3 ins. in plan. The soffits of the arches and of the small domes covering the verandah were once elaborately ornamented with floral and geometrical designs and Qurānic verses picked out in stucco, but much of this ornamentation has disappeared. In the verandah the outer wall face of the tomb proper is relieved with 3 arched recesses in each side, the central one containing a doorway of the bracket-and-lintel type; and above these doorways are small arched windows. The octagonal body of the tomb rises high above the verandah roof and is finished with a cornice moulding and battlements in relief. At the angles of the octagon and around the base of the large dome are 8 small cupolas, each resting on six pentagonal pillars. Internally, the tomb measures 62 ft. 6 ins. across, the walls being 11 feet thick. The walls are changed from the octagon into a sextadecagon by a simple process of corbelling, then to 32 sides and finally to a circle, on which rests a large dome somewhat pointed in outline. Each side of the sextadecagon is relieved with a large *jālī* window of Hindu design. These were probably meant for lighting the domed hall, but certain of the domes of the verandah roof come exactly

Fig. 112.—Ḥasan Khān Sūrī's tomb, Sassarām.

in front of them and obstruct the light. The 32-sided figure contains a small arch in each side. The springing of the dome is ornamented with a band of Qurānic verses boldly picked out in stucco; while its soffit was painted with floral and geometrical designs.

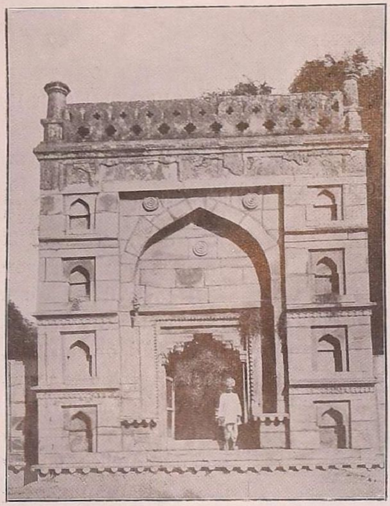


FIG. 113.—Ḥasan Khān's tomb, south gate of the compound, Sassarām.

The grave of Ḥasan Khān occupies the centre of the domed hall. To his right and left and also at his feet are 24 other graves, probably of his relations.

To west of the tomb, within the compound, is an old mosque with a spacious prayer hall, which is covered by a flat roof supported on massive stone beams and pillars. To south of the mosque there is an old *madrasa* or school consisting of an oblong flat-roofed hall with a large courtyard in front.

A small door in the west compound wall leads out to a *bāolī*, with *ghāts* on the south and east sides, and covered galleries on the north and west. In the centre of the *bāolī* is a large well.

(*g*) Over the *miḥrāb* in the west wall of the tomb is an inscription of one line in Thulth characters reading:—

لا اله الالله محمد رسول‌الله فریدالدین والدنیا ابوالمظفر شیر شاه سلطان این کمت بندگی میان
حسین بفرمائش شیخ [ابو سروانے ؟]

Translation.

"Kalima. Farīd-ud-Dīn Wad-Dunyā Abul Muzaffar Sher Shāh Sulṭān (built this dome of the revered master Ḥusain (*sic*) at the request of Shaikh Abbu (?) Sarwānī."[1]

(*h*) The tomb is in good condition; but the compound is used by the local people as a play-ground and also to graze their cattle in. (*j*) Martin's Eastern India, I, 424; L. A. M. B. 364-66; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 157. (*k*) 1007, 1016, 1122-27, 1224-27, 2463, 1712-14.

No. 69.—(*a*) Tomb of Sher Shāh Sūrī.

(*b*) In the middle of a large lake to west of the town; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) 952 A.H. = 1545 A.D.

[1] The last five words of the inscription are difficult to read with certainty. Ḥasan Khān is apparently called Miāñ Ḥusain in the inscription. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton also gives his name as Huseyn Khan. Abbū might be a nickname of 'Abbās (Sarwānī), who wrote a history of Sher Shāh.

(*f*) The magnificent Tomb of Sher Shāh is one of the noblest specimens of Pathān architecture in India. It is an imposing structure of stone,

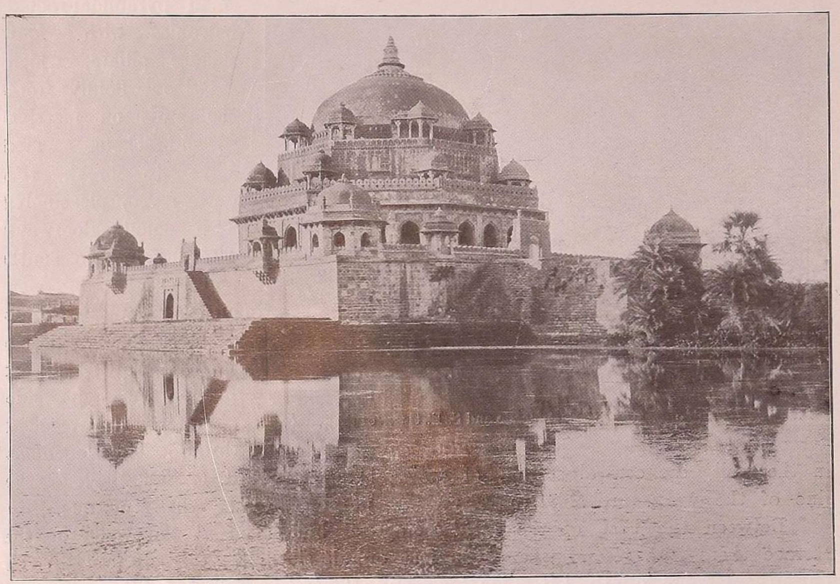


FIG. 114.—Tomb of Sher Shāh Sūrī, Sassarām.

situated in the middle of a great lake, and rises from a lofty stone terrace (216 feet long, 212 feet wide and 22 feet high) resting on a still larger platform 243 feet square. Steps on all four sides of the platform further lead down to the water's edge and form an imposing base for the monument. For some unknown reason the lower platform in the centre of the lake was not built squarely with the cardinal points, and in order to compensate for this defect and to obtain the correct direction for the west wall of the tomb—which contains the prayer niche facing the K'aba—, the upper terrace has been built not squarely upon it but obliquely to its sides. Originally the terrace was connected to the domed porch on the north side of the tank by a bridge of arches, of which the ruins were seen by William Hodges between 1780-83. In 1832 when Buchanan Hamilton visited the tomb, the only means of access to it was a raft made of bamboo frame-work on earthen jars; and the large dome was then crowned by a cupola. When the building was restored by Government in 1882, this cupola was pulled down and replaced by a pinnacle similar to that on the tomb of Ḥasan Khān Sūrī; and a causeway about 250 feet long was built to connect the tomb with the northern side of the tank. The upper terrace is surmounted by a battlemented parapet wall on all four sides, pierced with a doorway in the east, which forms the only approach to the tomb. At each corner of the terrace is a large octagonal chamber covered by a dome with

arched doorways on all sides, those facing the lake being provided with a low balustrade of stone. A little distance from these corner chambers occur small pyramidal-roofed balconies with four slender pillars, which stand out boldly from the walls on massive corbel-brackets, and serve to break the outline very pleasingly. Two small doorways centrally in the south and east walls open on to double flights of steps leading down to the water's edge; but on the west side the steps are reached through side openings in the wall, the central section of which breaks forward a little beyond the line of the walls—probably to serve the purposes of a *qanātī* mosque.

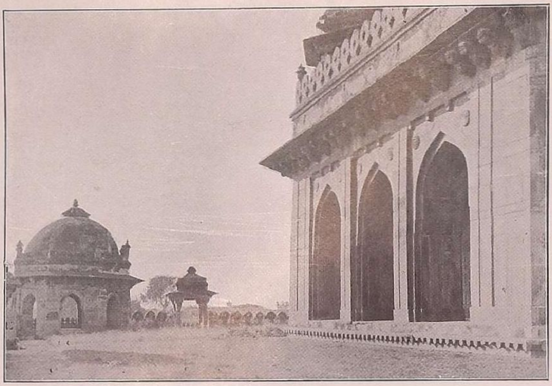


FIG. 115.—Tomb of Sher Shāh, East facade and S. E. tower of the terrace, Sassarām.

Between the base of the great octagonal building and the walls of the terrace there is a clear space of 36 feet on all sides. The tomb itself stands on an octagonal plinth 1 ft. 6 ins. high and 135 feet in diameter. It consists of a large octagonal chamber covered with a grand hemispherical dome and enclosed by a lofty verandah on all sides.

In each side of the verandah are three lofty arches of 9 feet span, with bosses decorating their spandrils. The walls are about 32 feet high and are surmounted by battlements 5 feet high. The *chhajja,* which is not very deep, is supported on massive brackets of Hindu design, below which runs a continuous band of glazed tiles of different colours—dark-blue, light-blue, yellow, and white. The spaces between the brackets are also decorated with panels of glazed tiles, chiefly dark-blue on a white ground. The verandah is 10 feet wide and the buttresses of its outer arches are each 5 ft. 9 ins. square. Internally, the verandah is covered by a series of 24 domes, each supported on 4 arches. These however do not appear on the outside, the roof being quite flat. At each angle of the verandah roof is a hexagonal cupola resting on six pentagonal pillars. The domes of these cupolas were divided into panels by narrow lines of white glazed tiles, which are now of a greyish colour and not noticeable from a distance.

The tomb proper consists of a large octagonal hall 71 ft. 5 ins. in diameter. The walls are 16 feet thick and are relieved with three lofty arches on each side, the central one of which contains a doorway of the bracket-and-lintel type, 8 ft. 7 ins. wide with a small arched window higher up in the arch. The west wall however, contains the *miḥrāb* or prayer niche, so that there are only 7 doorways in all.

The walls of the tomb are carried to a height of 22 feet above the verandah roof as an octagon; but internally they change into a sextadecagon at a height of about 25 feet from the floor, each side of the sextadecagon being pierced with a large window of the bracket-and-lintel type screened by stone *jālī* fret-work. The *jālī* work in these window is of various designs, and in all there are 8 different patterns, each confronting pair being of similar design. The sextadecagon is obtained by a simple process of corbelling. Above the windows the walls are converted into 32 sides in the same way, and each side is relieved with an arched recess. This is surmounted by a circle supporting the great dome, which, according to General Cunningham, is the largest in Northern India and more than 100 feet high from the floor of the octagonal chamber. From the centre of the dome is suspended an iron chain with a perforated metal crescent at its end. The grave of Sher Shāh is situated on a low plinth in the centre of the tomb, and at his feet are 24 other graves containing the relics of his favourite officers and companions-in-arms. The jambs and spandrils of the arch containing the *miḥrāb* in the west wall are profusely decorated with numerous Qurānic verses and inscriptions, with glazed tiles of various colours arranged in geometrical patterns, and with beautiful floral carving in stone enclosed in enamel borders. Much of the carving, however, has peeled off.

In the south wall of the south-east doorway of the tomb, a broad and steep stair leads up to the verandah roof, and further up to the top of the octagonal walls of the tomb. These walls, which, as already mentioned are carried to a height of 22 feet above the verandah roof, present the appearance of a second storey receding some 16 feet behind the lower one. On the top of these walls are eight hexagonal cupolas at the corners, each standing on six pentagonal pillars. The drum of the large dome is 16-sided. It is 11 feet high and about 80 feet in diameter. Around it runs a passage 8 ft. 3 ins. wide enclosed by a low parapet wall and accommodating small cupolas at the angles of the octagon. The walls of the drum are ornamented with false battlements at the springing of the dome. The total height of the tomb up to the top of the finial is believed to be about 120 feet above the high stone terrace on which it stands, and about 150 feet above the water of the surrounding lake.

In the design of this great structure two features have been introduced which appear to point to Hindu influence. Both the lofty basement and the surrounding lake are found in certain Hindu temples; and when, as here, they are combined with corbelling and flat architraves in the inner doorways, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the design was largely influenced by Hindu traditions. The tomb is remarkable for the great span of its dome; while for grandeur and dignity it is surpassed by few monuments in Northern India.

Including the broad stairs at either end of the causeway, the approach to the tomb is 380 feet in length. Between the stairs the causeway is 234 feet long with a culvert of 2 arches in the middle. The lake in which the tomb is situated measures 1,130 feet east to west by 865 north to south. The

present walls of the tank were constructed only a few years back when the size of the tank was also reduced by about 100 to 150 feet each way. The original dimensions of the lake were about 1,200 feet by 950 feet.

The porch at the north end of the causeway consists of a domed chamber about 35 feet square externally. It is also built on a raised plinth and is lighted by four arched openings, one in the middle of each side. To east and west of it are the remains of two small *qanātī* mosques. About the middle of the east side of the lake is a modern *ghāt* built by Shāh Kabīrud-Dīn, Sajjāda Nashīn of Sassarām, a leading spirit of the town in the fifties of the last century, through whose offices in keeping the populace calm and loyal through the Mutiny the title Nāṣirul-Ḥukkām was bestowed on the town of Sassarām by the British Government. The *ghāt* has been built in pleasing style, its kiosks being of the same type as the little bracketed cupolas flanking the domed chambers at the corners of the lofty terrace of the tomb. Originally there were *ghāts* on all four sides of the lake. They were destroyed recently when the size of the lake was also reduced to its present dimensions.

The lake is connected with a canal on the west side, and is the only source of drinking water for the town.

(*g*) In and around the prayer niche or *miḥrāb* in the west wall of the tomb are carved in stone numerous verses from the Qurān, and the following inscriptions in Naskh characters:—

(i) In a small arched recess above the *miḥrāb*, an inscription of two lines reading:—

روضه متبرکه بندگي حضرت شير شاه نور الله قبره

"The holy tomb of the revered Sulṭān Sher Shāh. May God illuminate his grave."

(ii) The outer band on the straight sides of the *miḥrāb* contains a Qurānic *Sūrah*; the corresponding inner band contains the following inscription:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله في عهد دولت نصر الاسلام والمسلمين قاطع
البدعته و محي السنته المويد من السماء المظفر على الاعداء اسليم شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
و زاد الله شانه سنه اثنى و خمسين و تسعماية السابع من [شهر؟] جمادي الاخر

Translation.

Bismillāh and Kalima;

"During the reign of the helper of Islām and Muslims, the uprooter of heresy and reviver of Faith, who is helped from the Heavens on high, the conqueror of enemies, (namely) Islīm (=Salīm or Islām) Shāh, the King. May God perpetuate his kingdom and supremacy, and may He increase his state and dignity! In the year 952 on the 7th day of the month of Jumāda II."

The name of the month is carved in a small recess in the centre of the *miḥrāb*. This inscription does not appear to have been noticed before. It indicates that the tomb was completed in the reign of Salīm Shāh or Islām Shāh, some three months after the death of Sher Shāh, who breathed his last at Kālinjar on the 10th of Rabì' I, $\frac{952 \text{ A. H.}}{1545 \text{ A. D.}}$

(iii) Below the small recess in the centre of the *miḥrāb* is a small slab of stone bearing a Persian verse which reads as follows:—

شاها بقائے عمر تو بادا هزار سال * سال هزار ماهی و ماه هزار سال

"May you live O, King, for a thousand years. May each year be of a thousand months, and each month as long as a thousand years."

(iv) In the north wall of the east entrance of the tomb is a granite slab (5 ft. 9 ins. by 3 ft. 9 ins.) fixed in an arched recess and bearing the following inscriptions of 18 lines in English:—

"This tomb, built for himself by Sultān Farīd-ud-dīn S͟her S͟hāh, Emperor of India, wherein he was buried Anno Domini 1545, was repaired by the British Government during the Viceroyalty of George Frederick Samuel Robinson, Marquis of Ripon, under the Governorship of the Honorable Augustus River Thompson, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. Anno Domini 1882.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 366-68; Martin's Eastern India, I, 424-30; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 155-7; S. A. B., XII, 206-7; C. S. R., XI, 133-37; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 21; Qānūngo's S͟her S͟hāh, 399-401; Fergusson's Hist. of Indian Architecture, II, 217-19; Havell's Ind. Arch., 155-7; Havell's Hist. of Aryan Rule in India, 444 and 449; Smith's History of Fine Art, 405-06. (*k*) 995 to 1002, 1005, 1228-31, 2459-62.

No. 70.—(*a*) Tomb of 'Alāwal K͟hān.

(*b*) About two miles to south of the Inspection Bungalow and half a mile south of the town; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) During the reign of S͟her Shāh Sūrī (1539-45 A.D.).

(*f*) The tomb of 'Alāwal K͟hān is situated in the middle of a large courtyard enclosed on all four sides by a high stone wall now extensively restored. The enclosure measures 112 ft. 10 ins. by 111 ft. 4 ins. on the outside. The walls are built of finely chiselled sandstone procured, it is said, from the *Būṛhan* hill to south. Originally there appear to have been three entrances into the interior, but those in the north and south walls have disappeared and the gateway in the east side now forms the only entrance. The east and west walls are in a fair state of preservation. All round the walls at a height of 3 ft. 6 ins. from the foundation or plinth is a projecting moulding, and higher up just below the parapets was another. The gateway on the east consists of a large lintel-headed door inset in a

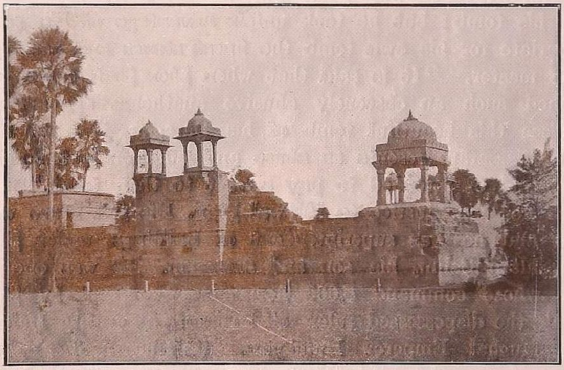


FIG. 116.—Tomb of 'Alāwal K͟hān, Sassarām.

double arch. The lintels, together with the brackets supporting them, and the upper portions of the jambs, are beautifully carved with various floral and geometrical designs; and the spandrils of the arches are ornamented with bosses. The flanks of the gateway are relieved with three superimposed arched recesses, and are surmounted by two cupolas each standing on four slender pillars. Internally, the enclosure is nearly 103 feet square. At each of the four corners is a small chamber (8 ft. 2 ins. square internally), the one at the north-west corner being two-storeyed with a flat roof and the remaining three being surmounted by hemispherical domes resting on four square pillars. About the centre of the west wall is the prayer niche or *miḥrāb* decorated with arched recesses and surmounted by two cupolas in the same way as the gate in front.

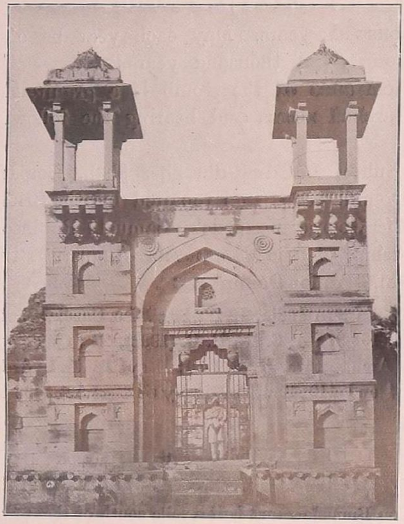


FIG. 117.—Tomb of 'Alāwal Khān, East Gate, Sassarām.

Inside the enclosure are three graves, the westernmost of which is said to be that of 'Alāwal Khān. The remaining two probably contain the remains of certain of his relations.

According to local tradition, 'Alāwal Khān was entrusted by Sher Shāh with the construction of his tomb; but he took unfair advantage of his position to select and appropriate for his own tomb the finest stones and carvings prepared for that of his master. "It is said that when Sher Shāh came to know of this he launched such an obscenely abusive anathema against all who should ever go to see this beautiful tomb of his Dārogha, that to this day every inhabitant of Sassarām resents as abuse any question put to him which implies his having paid or intended to pay a visit to that tomb."

Legend, however, has not done justice to 'Alāwal Khān. His full name was probably 'Alāuddīn Khān and he was superintendent of buildings under Sher Shāh, as well as under Sultān Salīm, his son and successor. He was one of the two generals under whose command 5,000 horsemen were sent by Sher Shāh to help Kāchī-i-Chak, the dispossessed ruler of Kashmīr, in ousting Ḥaidar Mīrzā, a protegé of the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn. (Qānūngo's *Sher Shah* p. 236, footnote, quoting from *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Pers. Text p. 616.) It is true that stones used in this tomb are finely chiselled, but the explanation of this is perhaps to be found in the fact that the stonework was possibly not intended to be plastered over. The carvings in this tomb are more than equalled by some of the carvings in the grand mausoleum of Sher Shāh. The legend must be put down as a myth. There is no dome over the grave of

'Alāwal Khān and none was ever built. The enclosure wall is said to have been demolished by Mr. Eyre, Deputy Magistrate of Sassarām, who built a *Sarāi* with the materials.

(*g*) On the grave of 'Alāwal Khān are the following 'Kalimas':—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله - اشهد ان لا اله الاالله وحده لا شریک له و اشهد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله

Translation.

"There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is His Apostle." "I stand witness to the fact that there is no god but God,—He is alone, without a partner,—and that Muḥammad is His slave and Apostle."

(*h*) Good. (*j*) L. A. M. B., 364; Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 158; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 21. (*k*) 1012, 2464.

Shergaṛh.

No. 71.—(*a*) The Shergaṛh Fort;

(*b*) 19 miles from Kudrā Railway Station and 8 miles south-west of Chenārī, a thana in the Sassarām Sub-division; (*c*) Bābū Madhusūdan Dāss of Benāres and Bābū Nirmal Kumār of Arrah; (*d*) II c; (*e*) Reign of Sher Shāh Sūrī (1539—1545 A.D.).

(*f*) The fort stands on the top of an outlying hill which rises abruptly from the plains and is bounded on two sides by the River Durgāvatī. On the other two sides, north and east, are traces of a large earthen dam, made probably for holding up rain water near the foot of the hill. The ascent up the hill was by a flight of broad easy steps winding with short zig-zags; but many of the steps have been displaced by trees growing in and around them. The large gateway on the top of the stepped ascent is ruined now, but the bastions guarding its right or north flank still exist. On the inner face of the bastions is a guards' barrack consisting of a single room (about 60 feet by 40 feet) roofed with stone flags supported on stone beams and pillars. Many of the stone beams have broken in the middle, and in several places the roof has fallen in. A stair in the south-west corner leads up to the roof of the barrack, which is quite flat, and is surrounded by a series of kiosks or sentry boxes with low parapet walls between. The sentry boxes are mere cupolas supported each on 4 square pillars and covered by a pyramidal roof or a dome. Originally they gave access to small projecting windows, which have disappeared.

FIG. 118.—Shergarh Fort: East gate, showing sentry boxes, from N. W.

The plateau of Shergaṛh is about 4 miles in circumference and consists of two elevations divided by a depression in the ground, where there is a large tank. The edge of the plateau was protected all round by battlemented walls with kiosks and other buildings at irregular intervals; and the gateways were defended by bastions on the outside, and provided with guard houses near them internally. The battlements are still standing in many places but the kiosks, parapets, etc., have fallen. The wall is some 27 feet thick near the Main Gate, about 10 feet of which is occupied by the loopholed parapets and the remainder by a passage or terrace some 16 or 17 feet wide left behind them for the defence of the walls. Access to the top of the walls was gained by double stairs provided at intervals.

Crossing the crest of the hill to the south-west through the jungle which covers the whole plateau, one comes to a dry artificial tank about a hundred and fifty yards across. The tank is lined with masonry and in the old days must have contained water all the year round, but now-a-days it is generally dry except during and immediately after the rains.

Leaving the tank to right and proceeding further south, there is another flight of steps leading up to the inner fort or palace, which is situated on a natural eminence above the level of the rest of the Shergaṛh hill. The steps are broken and the gate has lost its roof and jambs, etc. Internally, the gate is flanked by an open pillared hall on either side, said to have been used as offices. That on the right or west is 33 feet long and 18 feet wide, the other on the east measuring 41 ft. 6 ins. by 18 ft. Their roofs were, as usual, flat with large stone flags resting on heavy stone beams which in turn were supported on stone pillars, but they have fallen in several places. Going to right or west from this, the main gate of the citadel, one finds another small gateway, which is also approached by a flight of steps and was originally decorated with elaborate carvings. The gateway has collapsed but some of the carved stones are lying nearby. Close to this gate, in a large court to west, are two underground chambers, access to which is gained by flights of steps. One of them, to west, is a dome-covered well containing about 3 feet of very good water, which, though in constant use by all the cowherds and others, is said never to decrease or increase. Surrounding the well is a 12-sided verandah roofed by a vault, which is lighted by a large sky-light.

The other underground room is very dark and damp. It measures 21 ft. 3 ins. square and is covered by 9 small domes resting on heavy arches. It is not clear for what purpose it was used, unless arms, munitions, or provisions were stored here in the old days.

To west of these chambers is the east wall of a mosque, which has otherwise completely disappeared, its débris being overgrown with jungle. Possibly some archæologically interesting stones may be buried in the ruins

Proceeding along the north wall of the citadel to west, one comes upon another small gate which forms the real entrance into the palaces. These latter consist of a large courtyard (some 300 ft. by 200 ft.) enclosed on all sides

by a series of oblong rooms and galleries, with a covered stair and a set of Ladies' chambers in the middle of each side. To west of this is a similar court, which probably served as a kitchen and servants' quarters. The Ladies' chambers have no doors opening out into the courtyard, but were entered from the galleries and oblong rooms on either side of them. They were probably occupied by the chief's wife and other female relations; while the oblong rooms with open galleries in front of them were used by their attendants, etc. The rooms communicated with each other by means of doors in the partition walls. Small niches were provided in the back walls and windows in the front walls of all the chambers except those in the centre which, it seems, may possibly have been two storeyed in height. Some of the door jambs are relieved with elaborate carvings of geometrical design. The roofs were all flat, with stone flags supported on beams and pillars; but almost all the roofs have now fallen in. A closed room in the south-west corner of the palace is said to have been used as a latrine.

In the centre of the courtyard is a small tank 23 ft. 9 ins. square and 11 feet deep. In the middle of each of its four sides is a flight of steps leading down to the water, and all round the tank was a covered gallery about 12 feet wide, some pillars of which are still standing.

In the courtyard of this palace, which is locally known as the 'Baṛā Aṅgnā' or larger court, are three underground chambers, one of which, in the south-west quarter, is called the *Nāchghar*, another to north-west of the tank being known as the *Rānīvās*, and the third to north of the tank as the *Chhotā Rānīvās*. The *Nāchghar* measures about 48 ft. by 45 ft. and consists of a single chamber 24 feet square surrounded by a verandah (8 ft. wide) and lighted by arched openings on all sides. The chamber is some 4 feet lower than the verandah and is covered by a flat dome. The verandah has a vaulted roof which is pierced by a number of ventilators, large and small. The north-west corner of the verandah has apparently sunk, for the roof has cracked diagonally.

The *Rānīvās* is a large chamber, measuring about 59 feet east to west by 37 feet north to south, excluding a narrow passage or gallery running along its east side. It is built in two terraces, the eastern being some 14 inches higher than the western. The higher terrace is covered partly by a vault running north to south and partly by a series of three flat domes, all resting on pointed arches, which stand on stout masonry pillars. The western portion is similarly roofed with a long vault and 6 domes arranged in two rows of three each. Both the domes and the vaults are pierced by small square ventilators, while the vaulted passage to east is lighted by a large opening at the south end of the roof. Six small arched windows open from the narrow passage towards the chamber, into which a stone shelf, two feet deep, projects from the wall just below these windows.

The *Chhotā Rānīvās* is a small domed room to east of the larger *Rānīvās*. The interiors of all these three chambers are finished with a very fine plaster surface.

It has been suggested that these underground rooms were used by the ladies of the *Zanāna* in time of siege and as cool resorts during the hot weather. But it would seem more probable that they were only store-rooms; for Shergaṛh, unlike Rohtās, possesses no tracts of red arable soil within its confines, in which grain for the garrison could be grown. The rooms are well preserved.

The *Chhoṭā Aṅgnā*, or smaller court to west, consists of a square courtyard enclosed by walls, with a small room at each of the four corners, and pillared galleries in between. Access to the court is gained from the roof of the western wing of the larger court by a covered stair at each end of the roof of the east wing of the *Chhoṭā Aṅgnā*. Architecturally there is nothing remarkable about this building, which probably contained the kitchen and servants' rooms; though Dr. Bloch suggested its use as the Ladies' quarters. A door in the west wing commands a prospect of great beauty over the hills and valleys beyond the river Durgāvatī, which flows at the foot of Shergaṛh. According to Buchanan Hamilton, the Shergaṛh fort was built by Sher Shāh after he had already begun to fortify Rohtāsgaṛh, as he was struck with its superior advantages as a site for a fortress. In the absence, however, of any authority for the statement and in view of the fact that Sher Shāh carefully maintained a large garrison in Rohtāsgaṛh, it seems equally probable that in building this fort he was observing his vow that, if his life lasted long enough, he would build a fort in every *sarkār* which would, in times of trouble, become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the contumacious.

The fort is not maintained by the Archæological Department as a "Central charge."

(*g*) None. (*h*) Ruinous. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Shahabad, 161-2; Martin's Eastern India, I, 430; A. S. R., E. C. (1902), 23-24. (*k*) 2469-2476.

CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION.

PALĀMAU DISTRICT.

Palāmau.

No. 72.—(*a*) The forts at Palāmau.

(*b*) 20 miles south-east of Daltongunj and 4 miles east of Betla, a small village with an unfurnished Rest-house of the Forest Department; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) 17th century A.D.

(*f*) There are two forts at Palāmau, known respectively as the Purānā and Nayā Qil'a, though both appear to be of approximately the same date. The first is said to have been built by Medanī Rāi, the greatest of the Chero Rājās of Palāmau, and the second by his son Pratāp Rāi, in the first half of the 17th century.

The Old Fort stands on high ground which rises in terraces, the upper or western half of the area being divided from the lower by a high transverse wall running north to south. The fort is rectangular in plan, measuring about 250 yards east to west by about 150 yards north to south. The walls are built of rough rubble in mortar, and are about 25 feet high and 7 feet thick. At a height of some 17 feet from the ground the wall face on the inner side projects forward slightly over a simple coved string-course, so that the upper portion is about a foot wider than the base,—a feature peculiar to this fort. The walls are surmounted by the usual loopholed battlements on the outside and a small parapet (about 3 feet high) on the inside, a passage from 3 ft. 9 ins. to 5 ft. 6 ins. wide being left on the top between.

Some 20 yards to the south-east of the breach through which the visitor enters and which was made by the British Artillery in 1772 is a ruinous brick mosque of 3 domes with octagonal towers at the ends of the back or west wall. The prayer chamber measures internally 49 ft. 6 ins. by 12 ft. 3 ins. The mosque is the only brick building on the site. Its walls are 6 feet thick and a course of stone slabs is built into them at the floor level. Over the central arch of the mosque and

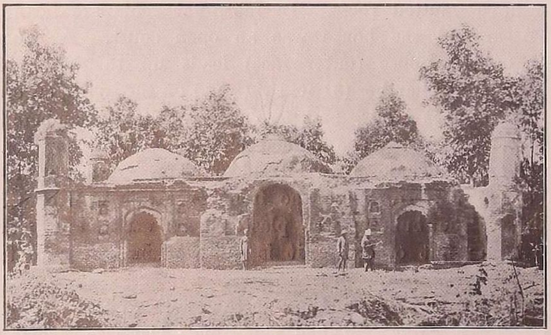


FIG. 119.—Mosque in the Old Fort, Palāmau.

also over the prayer-niche were formerly two stone slabs probably bearing inscriptions, which have long since been removed. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdia*, the mosque was built by Dā'ūd Khān Quraishī, the conqueror of Palāmau, in 1072 A.H., as a souvenir of his conquest. Some 50 feet to north-east of the mosque is a high arched gateway in the north wall of the fort, opening into an outer court about 40 feet square and enclosed by high walls on all sides. In the west wall of the court is a similar arched gateway leading outside the fort; while in the north wall a steep stair gives access to the top of the walls through two small domed chambers, one at each end of the outer gateway. The chambers are small, being only 6 feet square, and have openings on all sides, of which those towards the country were originally closed with masonry *jālīs*. These chambers were probably used as watch towers.

The high cross wall which divides the fort into two portions is pierced, near its junction with the north fort wall, by a gateway, the upper storey of which consists of a long pillared verandah, which may have been used as the Naubat-khāna whence musicians announced the movements of the Chief. The gateway leads into a large court about 60 feet square, enclosed by high walls as usual. In the south-west corner of this court was once a spacious room with two doors on the east; and in the south wall an arched gateway, now bricked up, led to the Zanāna palace buildings. Close to the gateway in the high cross wall there is a deep well cut in the solid rock, access to which was gained by means of a vaulted tunnel. Of the enclosure of the Zanāna palace only the west wall and a few small fragments of the other walls here and there exist; and of the four double-storeyed buildings seen by Dr. Bloch in the palace in 1902, only one remains fairly intact, the rest having fallen into ruins. The surviving structure consists of two oblong chambers in the lower storey (30 ft. by 14 ft. each) and one large and two small rooms in the upper. The lower rooms are arranged one behind the other. The front or northern chamber has three arched doorways in the north wall and one in the south, giving access to the back room, which is further lighted by three small windows, one in each of the three walls. Both rooms have vaulted roofs. In fact, flat roofs are nowhere met with at Palāmau. All round the house was an open court. A broken stair along the east wall of the house (outer face) leads up to the second storey, which consists of an oblong chamber (31 ft. by 13 ft.) on the south, an open terrace in front enclosed by parapet walls, and two small domed chambers at the south-east and north-west corners. The domed chambers, which are each only 6 feet square, have doors or windows on all sides. The parapet wall on the west is pierced with a *jālī* pattern, while the front or north wall contains three multifoil arched openings. The building was plastered as usual, and traces of paintings may also be seen; but otherwise it is quite plain and unpretentious.

To south-east of the double storeyed building, at the south extremity of the east wall of the fort, is a large gateway called the Singh Darwāza, which is in a relatively good condition. It opens out into a large court, in the south

side of which a passage leads to another gate with high curtain walls in front and on its south side; so that one has to turn five times before gaining an entrance into the fort from outside. The eastern curtain wall of this gate has three chambers at the top, those at the ends being octagonal in shape and covered with domes, and the central one oblong-shaped with a vaulted roof. The curtain walls here are about 40 feet high, and have the usual loopholes for arrows and muskets. The Singh Darwāza is a very interesting example of a small fortress-gateway of its period.

The New Fort is built on the upper slopes of a conical hill. It is also rectangular in plan and measures about 250 yards east to west by some 100 yards north to south. The walls are 17 feet thick, and are built of rubble-stone masonry in mortar, which has not been plastered over. The main entrance is on the south, and at the ends of the southern wall project two large circular bastions. In the thickness of the walls is a continuous series of vaulted chambers 8 feet deep; and on the top of the walls are the usual double battlements, with a passage 10 to 14 feet wide between. The lower chambers, which were apparently intended to accommodate the garrison, are provided with large square loop-holes for musketry at their floor level. Near the south-east bastion, and again to north of it, two high doorways of the lintel type lead into the chambers in the north wall, and similar entrances appear to have been provided at the other three corners of the fort. Some of these chambers on the south are two-storeyed. The protecting outer walls of the fort are only 4 ft. 9 ins. thick and thus lack the defensive strength of the heavier walls of the Old Fort described above.

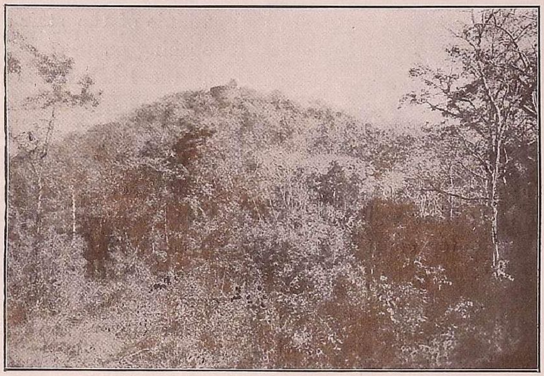


FIG. 120.—Palāmau New Fort, N.W. corner bastion, distant view from the road.

The bastions are octagonal inside, and are covered by hemispherical domes, which are pierced by four windows for light. In the middle of the floor of these bastions are two dry wells, which would seem to have been used for storing gun-powder and balls, etc.; for although water would certainly be required in the fort, a more suitable place for the wells would be somewhere in the open courtyard and not in the bastions themselves.

The fort walls are built a little below the peak; and on all four sides of it high massive walls have been erected to form a large terrace, access to which is gained through a handsome vaulted room at the south-east corner, locally

known as the Rājā's Kachahrī. The room is entered through a verandah 5 feet wide; and to its south is a broad stair with loop-holes, the first flight of which ends in a small chamber (11 ft. 9 ins. deep) on the west side of the landing place. The stair then takes a turn to right or north and leads straight up to the top of the terrace, a door in about the middle of the stair also opening on to the roof of the Kachahrī room.

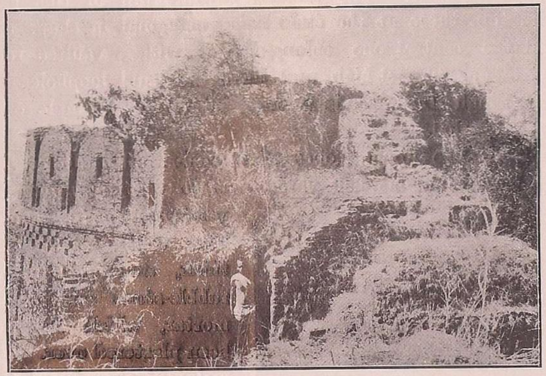


FIG. 121.—Palāmau New Fort: top portion of the N.W. corner bastion.

The main entrance to the fort, which is known as the Nāgpurī Gate, is in the south side, and projects some 80 feet beyond the fort wall. It faces east, and it would appear that there was at one time an outer court with curtain walls in front. The gate itself is ruined almost beyond recognition, but there still remains almost intact its remarkably fine outer façade of close-grained stone most elaborately decorated with a free arabesque of exquisite workmanship and of a character typical of the Jahāngīrī style of Mughal architecture. Beyond this gate are the usual guardrooms and a large court, the limits of which are marked by a few remnants of its high enclosing walls. From this court one had to turn first to north and then to west, where there were once two large carved stone windows, now wholly ruined. The Nāgpurī gate is said to have been erected by Medanī Rāi, the greatest of the Rājās of Palāmau; but another account ascribes the new fort to his successor Pratāp Rāi.

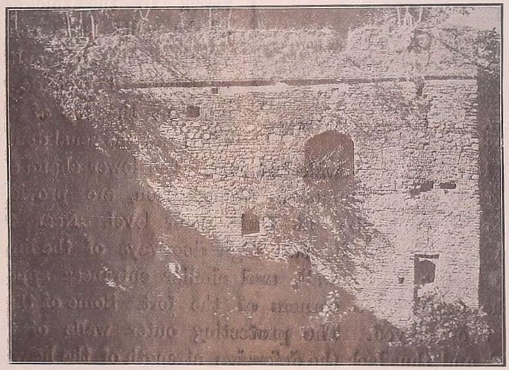


FIG. 122.—Palāmau New Fort, Rājā's Kachahrī, from S. E.

Palāmau has had a varied and chequered history. The Kharwārs, Orāons, and Cheros all claim to have been the rulers of Rohtāsgarh and subsequently to have migrated to Palāmau. Bhagavat Rāi, who took possession of the place in 1613 A.D., was the first of the long line of Chero chiefs who ruled

there for 200 years. Medanī Rāi, who has already been mentioned above, was the most prominent chief of the dynasty. After defeating the Mahārājā of Chota Nagpur, he penetrated as far as Orissa, and made himself Lord Paramount of the southern portion of Gaya and major part of Hazārībāgh and Sirguja. The new fort is said to have been begun by his son Pratāp Rāi, but was never finished. Later rulers fell through their own dissensions.

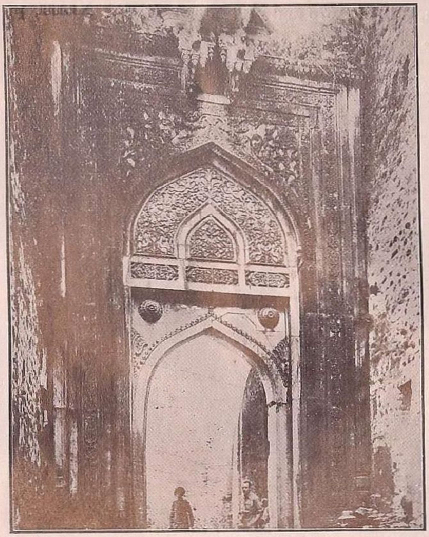


FIG. 123.—Palāmau New Fort Nagpurī Gate, front view.

Blochmann describes three Muhammadan invasions of the Chero territory. The first was by Shāista Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bihār, in 1641-42, who inflicted defeats on Pratāp Rāi at several places and compelled him to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 80,000 (February 12th, 1642). Again in 1643, Zabardast Khān, the commander of Shah Jahān, marched against Pratāp, who had recovered Palāmau from his treacherous uncle, Tej Rāi. When Zabardast Khān was within 6 miles of Palāmau, Pratāp sued for terms and was taken to Patna, where he agreed to pay a sum of one lakh of rupees annually, and "on the recommendation of I'tiqād Khān who had succeeded Shāista Khān as Governor of Bihār, Shah Jahān made him a commander of one thousand horse and gave him Palāmau as military fief, its *jama*' being fixed at 2½ lacs". But the Chero chief evidently did not regard the undertaking very seriously, and for 20 years surrendered nothing in response to repeated demands; while his followers continued their cattle lifting raids along the frontier and into the Imperial territories. Enraged at this, Dā'ūd Khān, the Governor of Bihār, determined to subjugate the Cheros once for all. A strenuous fight, lasting over three days, in April 1660, made Dā'ūd Khān master of the district, and the Rājā fled in terror to the jungles.[1] A Muhammadan Faujdār was left in charge of the place, but in 1666 he was removed and the territory placed directly under the charge of the Viceroy of Bihār. The Muhammadans treated the country as a fief, and so long as they received their tribute regularly, refrained from further interference with the Cheros. Ultimately the never-ending feuds of the Cheros led to the intervention of the British, and the territory was annexed

[1] A large picture of the attack on the Palāmau Forts by Dāūd Khan was preserved by his descendants at Dā'ūdnagar in Gaya District. It was on canvas and measured 30 ft. by 12 ft. and was photographed in several pieces by Mr. T. F. Peppe of Ranchi. A detailed description of it was published by Col. Dalton in the J. A. S. B. for 1874. The picture has lately been disposed of by Dāūd Khan's indigent descendants, who are passing their days in very poor circumstances. (Hunter's Statis. Acct. of Bengal, Vol. XVI, p. 464.)

by Captain Carnac in 1772, when Udwant Rāo was appointed *Ḳānūṅgo* of the Pargana, and Gopāl Rāi installed as Chief.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) Enveloped in thick forest but a margin of 10 feet has now been cleared along both sides of the fort walls to permit of access ; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Palāmau, 157-59 ; S. A. B., XVI, 455-69 ; L. A. M. B., 546 ; J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV, pt. III (1918), pp. 287-293 ; Pādshāh-nāmah, II, 248-50, 356-61 ; 'Alamgīr-nāmah, 648-60, 673 and 972. J. A. S. B., XLIII, pt. I, 240-44 ; (*k*) 273-8, 2340-52, 2501-8, 2778-84.

BHAGALPUR DIVISION.

BHAGALPUR DISTRICT.

Bangāon.

No. 73.—(*a*) Gorho Dīh or Fishermen's Mound.

(*b*) Close to the Gorho Ghāt about 2 miles to west of the village Bangāon, and by the north side of the road to Mahesi. The mound is situated partly in Mauza Bangāon (plot No. 10793) and partly in Mauza' Mahesi (plot No. 13590); (*c*) Sone Khān and Navnāth Khān, Brāhmans; and Rabi Gorhi and others of the village Bangāon; (*d*) III; (*e*) Uncertain, but probably very old.

(*f*) The mound occupies an area of about 25 *bighas* and is thickly overgrown with bamboos and mango trees. It is a very low mound, the highest portion, which is in the north-west corner, being not more than 10 feet above the surrounding land. In August 1917, 58 punch-marked silver coins, some pieces of gold leaf, a broken copper bangle, and 10 carnelian beads, were discovered by one of the labourers employed in the construction of the road leading to Gorho-ghāt. The coins, etc., were found in an earthen vase contained in a small, square, brick-built chamber, which was probably the relic chamber of an ancient Buddhist stūpa. The treasure is now exhibited in the Patna Museum. From the official reports submitted by the Sub-Inspector of Police, Thāna Bangāon, it appears that bricks were also found at a depth of about 2 to 3 feet in several places on the mound. On visiting the mound, however, in May 1919, the officiating Superintendent of Archæology found that the find-spot of the coins had been so thoroughly exploited by the villagers that not a trace of brick-bats or potsherds was to be met with on the surface.

The general configuration of the mound, which rises gradually from the site of the stūpa (find spot of the coins) to a height of about 10 feet and falls somewhat abruptly towards the west, suggests that it represents an ancient Buddhist site, and the highest portion in the north-west quadrant probably conceals the remains of a larger stūpa or monastery. The mound is about 600 feet long and 550 feet wide. It is popularly believed that the place was once the residence of a Bhor (Bhar ?) Rājā some 12 or 13 generations back. During the rains a number of fishermen come from Bangāon and take up their quarters on the mound; from which circumstance it derives its present name.

Besides the Gorho Dīh there are several large and small mounds in the neighbourhood, and all of them are said to contain massive walls built of large bricks measuring about 15 inches square and 2 to 4 inches thick.

(*g*) None on surface; (*h*) Fair; (*j*) *Nil*; (*k*) No photos have yet been taken of the site.

Colgong.

No. 74.—(*a*) Rock Temple.

(*b*) On the southernmost of the three low isolated hills in the river opposite the Municipal Waterworks. The hill is locally known as the Ḥājī Hill or Dargāh Ḥill from the Dargāh or shrine of a Muhammadan saint on its top; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II; (*e*) Dr. Bloch considered the temple to be not later than 800 or 900 A.D.

(*f*) This peculiar temple is carved out of a single granite boulder near the summit of a rocky island in the Ganges, and is perhaps the only rock-cut temple in the Province. In plan it is nearly a square, being 11 feet north to south and a little more than 12 feet east to west. In elevation it is about 20 feet high, and has two gable ends formed by the east and west walls, which rise higher than the roof and are shaped like pediments. Between these triangular ends the roof suggests an imitation of the horse-shoe vault characteristic of the great Buddhist caves of Western India. At a height of about 7 feet from the ground are a few horizontal mouldings of crude workmanship, above which the walls recede to form, as it were, the tower of the temple, which is 8 ft. 10 ins. square. The east and west walls are relieved with slight projections, like those of a *pañcharathī* temple, and with a leaf-shaped decoration surmounted by a large *kīrtimukha* head at the top.

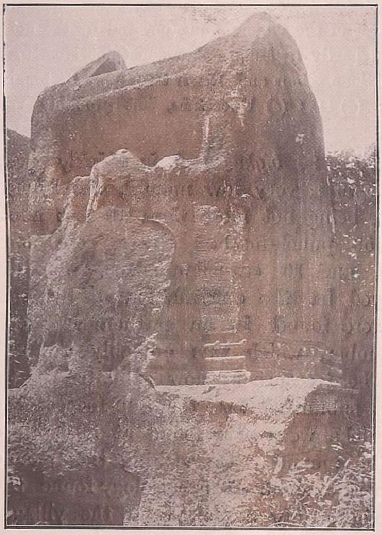


Fig. 124.—Rock-cut temple, Colgong.

The cell or shrine proper is carved in the south face, and in section closely resembles a semi-domed *miḥrāb* or prayer-niche of a Muhammadan mosque. In front of it is a porch 3 ft. 1 in. wide, 3 ft. high and 1 ft. 5 ins. deep.

The surface of both the interior of the cell and the exterior walls has been left from the chisel and not smoothed afterwards. From the coarseness of its architectural mouldings, and from the absence of any cult images or other figures either in the small cell or anywhere in its immediate vicinity, it would appear that the temple (which may never have been finished) was probably never in use as a place of worship.

A few yards to west of the temple is a flat-roofed chamber enshrining the tomb of a Muhammadan saint whose name is not known. The shrine is situated on a level terrace on the summit of the hill and is known to the local people as the Dargāh.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 428; C. S. R., XV, 34-35 and pl. XII; A. S. R., E. C. (1903), 8; Dist. Gazet., Bhagalpur, 164; (*k*) 1214.

Patharghaṭa.

No. 75.—(*a*) Rock Sculptures.

(*b*) On the Patharghaṭa or the Chaurāsī Mūrti hill situated 8 miles north-east of Colgong, a small station on the Burdwan-Mokameh Loop Line of the East Indian Railway; (*c*) The hill belongs to Bābū Pannā Lāll Seal and others of Calcutta, who have leased it for 99 years to Messrs. P. N. Dutta & Co., 12, Clive Row, Calcutta, for exploiting the China clay it yields; (*d*) II c; (*e*) Dr. Bloch considers the Chaurāsī Muni sculptures to belong to about the 6th or 7th century A.D.

(*f*) There is a number of rock carvings located at various places all over the Patharghaṭa hill, but the most important of them is a long row of figures locally known as the Chaurāsī Muni or 84 sages. They are situated a little below the summit of the hill, facing the river. The face of the hill carved with these figures does not conform to a straight line horizontally, being broken by several recesses and projections, some facing north, others west. A narrow footpath leads from the boat ferry on the Colgong side to the figures, which have been described by Buchanan Hamilton as representing the adventures of Rāma and Krishṇa. On account of their damaged condition it is not possible to identify them all, but some of them can be easily recognised. Beginning from the left end, there is a standing 4-armed figure of Vishṇu; to its right a man wearing an elaborate head-dress is being beaten by a large figure with demonaic features. Some of the figures immediately to right of this group have totally disappeared, and only a few attendant figures remain to right of the blank space, so that the meaning of the scene is not apparent.

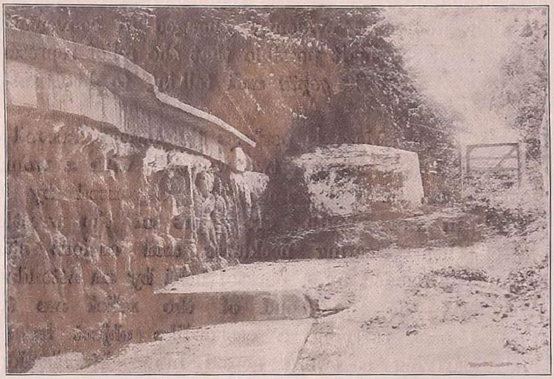


Fig. 125.—Rock Sculptures, Patharghaṭa.

After this comes a relief showing the dwarf-incarnation of Vishṇu in the court of Rājā Bali, measuring one of the three long strides. The bearded figures standing to left of the Rājā are probably his courtiers or priests; and to right of the *Vāmana* are possibly *Devas*, looking on at the scene from their heavenly abodes.

Next to right of the *Vāmana* relief is a figure of the god Vishṇu seated on Garuḍa, which is shown as flying with outstretched wings. On either side, in the background, are the heads of a number of figures, possibly *Devas*, watching the flight of the god.

To right of this relief is a large standing figure, probably representing the *Narsiṁha* incarnation of Vishṇu, whose *chakra* is shown on the right shoulder of the figure. The face is damaged.

The next three reliefs to right probably represent some of the adventures of Krishṇa. The central one shows Krishṇa standing in the midst of *gopas* and *gopīs* and their cows. Two of the *gopīs* are standing at the right end of the relief and churning milk in a large vessel. Some of the cows are suckling their calves.

In the relief to left of the one just described is shown a king (or perhaps a four-armed deity) seated in the centre in the conventional "easy posture". His right arm is bent and the elbow rests on a high cushion. On either side of him are male and female attendants, and at the right end of the panel is seen a man seated on a high stool and evidently engaged in conversation with the principal figure in the centre. Is it possible that the relief represents Krishṇa resting after his exertions amongst the *gopīs* and talking to his brother *Balarāma* ?

The relief at the right end of the frieze is perhaps the best preserved of all. It shows towards the left end of the panel two wrestlers with a woman standing in the corner looking on in astonishment, as expressed by her fore-finger and thumb placed in her mouth. To right of the wrestlers are some more figures, two of them wearing necklaces and curious short *dhotīs*. One of these two figures is shaded by a parasol held by an attendant, and appears to be Krishṇa. At the right end of the relief are two attendant figures, to left a female carrying a casket-like object in her hand, and to right a male carrying a sword across his right shoulder. The meaning of this relief is not clear, though it might conceivably represent the successful fight of the young Krishṇa with the wrestler Chāṇūra, the achievement naturally astonishing his fond parents and nurses. The wrestlers, however, who are shown standing, are both of nearly the same size.

The frieze is 46 ft. 9 ins. long and about 5 feet high, but the actual figures are between two and three-and-a-half feet in height. The frieze is, so far as appears, the only one of its kind in Bihar ; and Brāhmanical figures of such an early date (about 6th century A.D.) are very rare in this province. The figures are not worshipped now-a-days.

Besides the frieze of "84 sages" there are some more figures sculptured on the isolated rocks near the *ghāṭ*. One of the rocks contains a Gaṇeśa in the centre, a *liṅga* to his right and Pārvatī to left. Another shows a sleeping figure on one face, and Hara-Gaurī seated in an amorous attitude on the other. Among the detached images the best preserved are a small but beautiful figure of Gaṅgā, an Avalokiteśvara, a Buddha, and a Sūrya. They are all carved in relief, and probably belong to about the 8th century A. D.

The chief objects of worship at Patharghaṭa now-a-days are the Vaṭeśvara Mahādeva and Kālī, the latter having been installed in modern times by a Bengali gentleman in a small shrine in front of the Vaṭeśvara temple.

Besides the antiquities described above there are also some 7 caves in the Patharghaṭa hill; two of the caves have regular doorways with cut mouldings, and a third called Pātālpurī is said to be of such great length that no one has ever yet been to the end of it. From the Vaṭeśvara cave Bābū P. C. Mukerji recovered some important relics in bronze and silver. One of these was a lotus of extraordinary workmanship showing delicate figures carved on its three-fold petals, etc. Another was a four-faced and twelve-armed Bhairava standing on two prostrate figures.

(*g*) None; (*h*) The figures have suffered much from the effects of time. They are now sheltered by a shallow stone cornice; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 422; Dist. Gazet., Bhagalpur, 171; C. S. R., XV, 36-7; A. S. R., E. C., (1903), 8; Martin's Eastern India, II, 64-65; (*k*) 1373, 1374, 1217-1220.

MONGHYR DISTRICT.

Monghyr.

No. 76.—(*a*) The Fort or Qil'a.

(*b*) On the south bank of the Ganges to west of the town; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) The original fort appears to have been built during the time of the early Muhammadan Kings of India.

(*f*) The fort of Monghyr is an irregular square and occupies an area of 222 acres of land, the walls having a circuit of about two miles and a half. It is built on a rocky eminence which projects some distance into the Ganges. Towards the west, and partly also towards the north, the river comes up to the walls, while on the land side the fortifications are defended by a deep moat about 175 feet wide strengthened by an outer stone wall. The ramparts are some 30 feet thick, and are made up of two stout facing walls of stone or brick in mortar, with a filling of earth between. The outer wall is about 12 feet, the inner about 4 feet, thick. The outer wall was originally built of stone, but later repairs have all been carried out in brick. The walls were strengthened with circular and octagonal bastions at regular intervals, and surmounted by the usual battlements with hooded loop-holes. The north, east, and west walls are still fairly well preserved, but the southern is in a very dilapidated condition. The fort had four gateways, one in the middle of

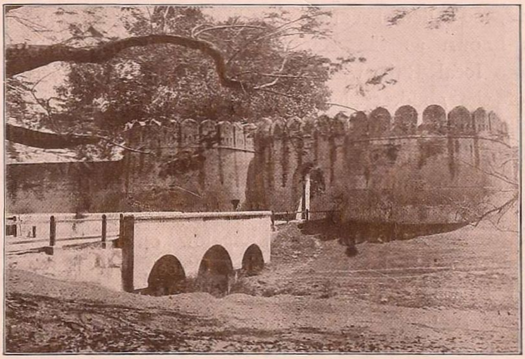


FIG. 126.—The Fort, Monghyr.

each side. Two of these, on the north and south, have been almost entirely rebuilt, and Dr. Bloch considers that they do not now retain their old appearance. The west gate has totally disappeared, with the exception of its side bastions; while the eastern gate was demolished to make room for a modern clock tower imposed on a large horse-shoe arch, which serves now as the gateway. [This tower owes its existence to a Mr. Herschell Dear "for many years resident in the station", who presented it to the town in 1885—a monument of misconceived munificence and distressing incongruity in its present setting. The square projecting bastions flanking the horse-shoe gateway are probably restorations of the old ones; though the bastions flanking the other three gates are all circular.] In the northern gate or Lāl Darwāza (through which one enters the fort from the Railway station) are built some carved stones which originally belonged to some Hindū or Buddhistic structure. One of them, on the outer face (western flank) is evidently a door lintel. It is carved with a four-armed goddess seated cross-legged in the centre, and contains a standing female figure at the left end with floral designs carved on the rest of the surface. A smaller slab on the inner face of the right or eastern flank is relieved with a *Kīrtimukha* head and the bust of a human figure. A bridge of three arches built across the moat connects the Railway station with the fort. Entering the fort through the Lāl Darwāza, the main road from the Railway station runs southward between two large tanks, behind which are two low hills. One of these, to south-east of the eastern tank, is a natural rocky eminence, and on the top of it is a large building known as the Karaṇ Chaurā house, so-called because the highest point of the hill on which it is situated is known as the Karaṇ Chaurā or Karaṇ Chabūtra. Karan is said to have been a local Rājā who was a contemporary of Vikrama and an ardent worshipper of the goddess Chaṇḍī Devī, whose *sthān* is situated about a mile to east of the fort. When the British first occupied Monghyr they found the remains of a building on the hill and afterwards erected a saluting battery on it. It was the capture of this hill by Captain Smith that played such an important part in quelling the "White mutiny" of 1766. Subsequently General Goddard built the present bungalow on it, which for some time remained the residence of the Commanding Officer. At the close of the 18th century General Briscoe lived in this house, which is referred to by Mr. Twinning as "a noble mansion situated upon the summit of a small hill within the fort near the lower angle." Later the house was acquired by the Mahārājā of Vizianagram, and it is now the property of the Rājā of Murshidābād. The house commands a fine view of the river and of the country beyond. A platform in front of the house is called the Karan Chabūtra. The eminence beyond the other tank is an artificial rectangular mound, which probably formed the citadel or perhaps the arsenal of the fort. The building erected on this hillock was known as the Damdama Kothī, and was demolished some 20 years back in order to make room for the Collector's residence. "Hardly any impression could be made on the solid brick walls by ordinary methods, and they had to be blown up by gun-powder bit by bit. When

the debrís was removed numerous holes were discovered showing the former existence of under-ground chambers. Inside a well in the compound, just above the water level, two arched passages were found, one leading towards the house, the other in the opposite direction towards the ground now occupied by the Jail". To west of the Civil Courts is a small church and to its west again the Palace of Prince Shujā', (or, more probably, of Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān of Bengal), which occupies one of the finest sites in the fort and has now been converted into a Jail. The "undertrial" ward of the Jail to right of the entrance is said to have been the Khāṣṣ Maḥal or Zanāna Palace; the building opposite to it, which is now used as a school for the prisoners, was, it is said, the Diwān-i-'Āmm or Audience Hall; and the large Topkhāna building near the Hospital, now used as a dormitory, was probably a Magazine or Armoury (its walls are about 12 to 15 feet thick). The ration godowns include a flat-roofed building to west, which is believed to have been a domed Mosque. "In the floor of this mosque," writes Colonel Crawford, "underneath the centre dome, is a dry well or pit 10 to 12 feet deep. From this well four subterranean passages lead off in different directions. These passages had all been bricked up a few yards from their entrances many years before I went to Monghyr. There was a tradition that some prisoners had made their escape from the jail (it is not likely they ever got out at the other end) along one of these passages, years before. I believe that one of these passages went down to the river bank, which is just outside; a second to a large well in the garden; a third to the subterranean rooms at the Point (Damdama Kothī or Bathing Ghāt); where the fourth may go I am not prepared to hazard any suggestion; tradition says to Pīrpahāṛ, but three miles is a tall order for a practicable passage." Many of the buildings in the Jail are said to have had underground chambers which have been blocked up. To east of the Topkhāna building, in front of the Hospital, is a large and deep well some 20 feet in diameter. To west of the jailor's office is a roofless *ḥammām* or Turkish bath consisting of a bath-room and a dressing-room. West of the *ḥammām*, outside the palace, is another large well, which was connected with the river by a door, now bricked up. The palace is bounded by a high enclosure wall (which is also old) on three sides, and by the river on the fourth or west side. Besides the buildings described above, the fort area contains a number of residential houses, many of which are occupied by Europeans.

At the north-west corner of the fort is an old bathing place known as the Kashṭaharaṇī or 'pain-expelling' *ghāṭ*. Tradition says that all people afflicted with grief or bodily pain were at once cured on immersion, and that Sītā, when she agreed to prove her innocence by a fire-ordeal near Sītākuṇḍ, landed at this *ghāṭ*. Some six temples have been erected here during the last century, and on the *Rākhī* or *Pūrṇamāsī* festivals large crowds of pilgrims bathe at this place. Close to this *ghāṭ*, a few yards to east, is a covered *ghāṭ* which was built for the convenience of the ladies of the Ṣūbadār's house; but it is out of use now and partially blocked with mud and rank growth.

The English name of the Kashṭaharaṇī is not so picturesque—being Scandal point! Some 50 years back Bābū Rām Prasād Singh built another bathing *ghāṭ* near the west gateway of the fort. It is known as the Babuā *ghāṭ* in Hindi and Welcome *ghāṭ* in English—the latter being derived from the word "Welcome" inscribed on both sides of the *ghāt*. It is used as a landing place by Viceroys and Governors when coming to Monghyr by river.

On the top of the bastion at the south-west angle of the fort was the tomb of Mullā Muḥammad Sa'īd, a Persian poet who wrote under the *nom-de-guerre* of Ashraf. He was the son of Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Māzandrān, near the Caspian Sea, and came to India during the reign of the Emperor Aurangzīb, who employed him as tutor to his daughter Zīb-un-Nisā Begam, herself a poetess of no mean renown. In 1672 A.D., he went back to Persia, but returned a few years later and was employed by 'Aẕīm-ush-Shān,[1] the grandson of Aurangzīb, who was Viceroy of Bihār. In his old age he determined to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but died at Monghyr in 1704. He is the author of a *Diwān*, a *Mathnawī* called the *Ma'dan-i-Taif*, and a commentary on the *Kāfiyah*. Thirteen years ago his tomb could be seen "on the top of the bastion, the lower part of which is used as a kitchen"; but since the publication of Mr. O'Malley's Gazetteer the tomb has been demolished and all traces of the grave have been removed. However, a broad flight of steps leading up to the top of the bastion is still intact and serves to show that the Gazetteer's statement is not without foundation. There was then no (inscribed) slab or tablet on the grave.

Monghyr is supposed to be mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* under the name of Modagiri, and a passage in the *Sabhā-Parva*, describing Bhīma's conquests in Eastern India, says that after defeating Karaṇa (King of Aṅga), he fought a battle at Modagiri and killed its chief. But the earliest historical information about Monghyr (or Mudgagiri) is derived from an inscribed Copper Plate found within the fort area about the year 1780 A.D. It refers to king Devapāla who flourished in the 9th century A.D., and was apparently engraved to commemmorate a meeting of the princes and armies subject to the Pāla Kings of Bengal. The plate does not mention any town or fort at Monghyr but merely relates that the king encamped on the spot and constructed a bridge of boats across the Ganges. Monghyr is not mentioned in connexion with Ikhtiyāruddīn Khiljī's conquest of Bihār, but with the rest of the Province was apparently attached to Bengal till A.D. 1330, when Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq annexed it to Delhi. From A.D. 1397 it belonged to the Kingdom of Jaunpūr, of which it continued to form part for about 100 years, that is, until the time of Bahlol Lodhī of Delhi; on whose death in 1488 his son Sikandar overran Bihār as far as Bengal. At this time it was in the hands of independent Afghān Chiefs, but about 1494 A.D., the Afghāns seem to have submitted to Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal; and the historians tell us that Prince Dānyāl, son of Ḥusain Shāh met Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī

[1] The modern town of Patna was founded by this prince and was called Aẕīmābād after him.

of Delhi at Bihār or Bāṛh in the year 1499 A.D., when the province was formally acknowledged to belong to Bengal. The town of Monghyr lying, as it does, on the banks of the Ganges at a point where the hills close in from the south and thus command both the land and river routes, was a position of much importance; and a strong fort (the one under review) was built to guard the narrow neck of level ground probably some time between A.D. 1200 and 1497, when Prince Dānyāl is recorded to have erected a dome over the tomb of Pīr Shāh Nāfa, and to have repaired the fortifications. In 1521 Naṣrat Shāh, taking advantage of the troubles of the Delhi Emperor, who was being hard pressed by Bābar, broke the treaty and invaded Tirhut, making his son-in-law, Makhdūm-i-'Ālam, Governor of the conquered territory with his headquarters at Ḥājīpūr. He then crossed the Ganges and took possession of the fort and district of Monghyr, which he entrusted to one of his best generals, named Quṭb Khān. After this, Monghyr became the headquarters of the Bihār army of the Bengal Kings, and we learn from the "Memoirs of Bābar" that when Bābar invaded Bihār the governor of Monghyr wrote to him accepting terms of peace for Naṣrat Shāh after the battle on the Gogra (1529-30). Quṭb Khān appears to have remained at Monghyr until the accession of Maḥmūd Shāh, the last king of Bengal (1533-34), when Makhdūm-i-'Ālam raised the standard of revolt in concert with the turbulent Afghān Chief Sher Shāh. Quṭb Khān was directed to advance against the allied rebels, and his defeat by Sher Shāh was the first great success of that Chief in the struggle which afterwards placed him on the throne of Delhi. Sher Shāh next defeated Maḥmūd Shāh, captured the fort of Rohtās, and, marching to Monghyr, put to the sword the Emperor's deputy there. During the subsequent war between him and the Emperor Humāyūn, when the latter was retreating from Bengal, Monghyr was the scene of a battle between the Afghāns and the Emperor, in which Sher Shāh captured Dilāwar Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, and ancestor of Khān Jahān Lodī, a man of note in the reign of the Emperor Shāh Jahān.

From A.D. 1545 we find Monghyr mentioned as in the possession of Sulaimān, an Afghān of the Karārānī tribe, who held south Bihār for Islām Shāh, son of Sher Shāh. Under Islām Shāh's successor, 'Ādil or 'Adlī Shāh, Sulaimān, with the view of securing independence, entered into an alliance with Bahādur Shāh, King of Bengal; and when 'Ādil Shāh retired before the advancing army of Akbar, Bahādur Shāh and Sulaimān attacked him near Sūrajgaṛh, west of Monghyr, and defeated and killed him (A.D. 1557). In 1563, Sulaimān became ruler of Bengal and Bihār, but acknowledged the suzerainty of Akbar. He was succeeded ten years later by his second son, Dāūd Khān, who refused to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Akbar thereupon invaded Bihār and conquered it (1574). Soon after, in 1580, the great Bengal military revolt commenced, and Monghyr was for a considerable time the *point d'appui* of Akbar's officers in their expeditions against the rebels. Todar Mal, for example, occupied Monghyr for a long time, and held in check the rebel army of 30,000 horse, which in its advance on Bihār was encamped at Bhāgalpūr

until, through his influence with the Hindu zamīndārs, he was able to stop all their local supplies and thus force them to disperse. He also repaired the fortifications.

When Sulṭān Shujā', the second son of Shāh Jahān, on hearing of the dangerous illness of his father in A.D. 1657, raised the standard of revolt and claimed the imperial throne, Monghyr formed the centre from which he directed his preparations, and to which he retired after his defeat in the following year at Bahādurpūr, near Benares, by Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Dārā Shikoh. The defences of Monghyr held out against the victor, till he was summoned back to Āgra to assist his father against Aurangzīb. In 1659, Monghyr again afforded shelter to Shujā' after his defeat at Kudwa by Aurangzīb, until Mīr Jumla turned his position by sending troops through the Sherghātī passes, and forced him to retire to Rājmahal.

The historians of Aurangzīb mention only one event in connexion with Monghyr, namely the death and burial at Monghyr of the poet Mullā Aṣhraf who died soon after 1673 while on his way from Bengal to Mecca. But in later times the place became more important in consequence of Mīr Qāsim selecting it as his capital. Under Mīr Qāsim's Armenian general, Gurgīn Khān, an arsenal was established in the fort, and the town retained its pre-eminence until the final defeat of Mīr Qāsim at Udanāla in October 1763. The fort was for some time occupied by the troops of the East India Company, and was the scene of an outbreak among the European officers, known as the "White mutiny," which was quelled by Lord Clive. Towards the close of the 18th century only a small garrison of half-pay and invalid officers and men was kept in the fort for protecting a depot of military stores and a powder-magazine established here. The fortifications were gradually allowed to fall into disrepair, and the Nawwāb's arsenal and palace were converted into the Collector's Residence and Jail respectively.

(*g*) (i) Inscription on Pīr Shāh Nāfa's tomb (see No. 77 further).

(ii) Fragment of a Persian inscription lying in the Jailor's office and reading :—

سال بنایش چو پرسیدم از خرد گفتا

"When I asked wisdom of the year of its construction, it said" . .

(iii) On a small boulder (now covered by a small domed chamber) to south of the Kashṭaharaṇī *ghāṭ* is carved a pair of human foot-prints. Below them are engraved (in Persian) the words قدم شریف پیران پیر "foot-marks of the great saint" (of Baghdād). Above the foot-prints are some indistinct letters in Hindi. The inscription is modern.

(iv) At the Kashṭaharaṇī *ghāṭ*, on a black stone built in the pedestal of an octagonal masonry pillar from which grows a small *Tulsī* plant is engraved an inscription of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines in old Nāgarī characters. The inscription is partly damaged and appears to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by a person named Gopāla, who belonged to an otherwise unknown Mukteśvara family and was in the service of a king named Bhāgīratha. The inscription may be

approximately assigned to the 10th century A.D. and is dated Samvat 13, evidently of the regnal year of the King.

This inscription was, until a few years back, fixed in one of the walls flanking the stairs leading down to the *ghāṭ*. The temple mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified.

(v) The Gazetteer mentions an inscription on a rock near the Kashṭaharaṇī ghāṭ in which Monghyr is called Guptagaṛh; but this could not be found.

(*h*) Fair; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Monghyr, 224-239; A. S. R., E. C. (1903), 9-10; S. A. B., XV, 62-69; L. A. M. B., 410-11; Martin's Eastern India, II, 44-5; C. S. R., III, 114-17; C. S. R., XV, 13-19, and Appendix; A. G. I., 576-78; I. A., XXI (1892) 253-8; J. A. S. B. (1878), pt. I, 385-6; *Mahabhārata* by Pratāp Chandra Ray, (Calc. 1893, Bhārat Press), Sabhā Parva, p. 86; (*k*) 2205, 2206, and 2338.

No. 77.—(*a*) Pīr Shāh Nāfa's tomb.

(*b*) On a mound close to and inside the south gateway of the fort; (*c*) Shāh Fidā 'Alī Mujāwir, and others of Monghyr; (*d*) II c; (*e*) 903 A.H.=1497-98 A.D.

(*f*) The shrine of Pīr Shāh Nāfa is the oldest building inside the fort. It stands on a platform built on the top of a small mound rising some 25 feet above the level of the road to its west, and is surrounded on all sides by high retaining walls, which form a compound of irregular shape about 100 feet each way. Access to the tomb is gained by a flight of steps on the west. The tomb itself consists of a small domed chamber 25 feet square on the outside, and 16 feet square inside. At the four corners of the building are circular turrets rising only a few inches above the level of the cornices. Originally the entrance to the tomb was in the middle of the east wall, but in later times it was blocked up and a new one was opened in the south side. Pīr Nāfa's grave is raised on a platform (about 7 ft. by 4½ft.) set out of the centre slightly towards the east. There is no other grave inside.

FIG. 127.—Shāh Nāfa's tomb, Monghyr.

To south of the domed chamber is a low platform in which are embedded the top portion of a carved Hindū pillar of black stone and a slab of the "*zahr mohra*" stone, now disfigured with unsightly holes and depressions made by those who believed in its efficacy to cure certain diseases of children. Besides these there lies at the west end of the platform a finely carved door-

lintel of black stone (7 ft. 1½ ins. by 1 ft. 1 in. by 8 ins. thick) which is said to have once formed part of a gateway at the lower end of the steps. The carving consists of floral designs of Muhammadan character.

To west of the tomb is a *ḥujra* with two rooms, one behind the other. The smaller of the two rooms, which is on the east, has a vaulted roof and seems to be fairly old. To south of the entrance of the *dargāh* is a small flat-roofed mosque which is said to have once been covered with domes. All round the tomb are a number of graves belonging, it is said, to the family of *Mujāwirs*. The saint, whose real name is not known, is revered both by Hindūs and Muslims. He is said to have come from Persia to Ajmīr and to have directed his steps thence to Monghyr, under instructions from K͟hwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn c͟his͟htī, an early Muslim missionary who is known amongst the *Ṣūfīs* as "Sulṭān-ul-Hind" or the spiritual King of India. The saint lived here for many years, and died about the year 596 A.H. corresponding to 1177 A.D. He was buried in an obscure place near the ramparts, and with the lapse of years his burial place was forgotten. Ultimately, in 1497 A.D., when the ramparts of the fort were being repaired, Prince Dānyāl, the Governor, we are told, dreamt that one of the graves near the ramparts was emitting the smell of musk. Thinking that the grave must belong to a holy man, the prince caused a search to be made, and the grave was at once located. Dānyāl then caused a dome to be built over it, and ever since that day it has been known as the dargāh of S͟hāh Nāfah, from the Persian *nāfah*, a "pod of musk". Sultān Ḥusain S͟hāh (899-929 H.), referred to in the inscription noted below, was the first of the Sayyid kings of Bengal. He was a most benevolent sovereign; and Professor Blochmann observes that "of the reign of no other king of Bengal—perhaps of all upper India before the middle of the 10th century (Hijra)—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal Kings scarcely ever occur in legends, and remain even unrecognised in the geographical names of the country—the name of 'Husain S͟hāh, the Good' is still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra". This great and good king extended his empire into Orissa, Assam and Chittagong, and reigned over all northern and southern Bihār up to the western limits of *sarkār* Monghyr.

(*g*) A slab of black stone (2 ft. 7 ins. by 13 ins.) built into the east wall of the tomb bears the following inscription of two lines engraved in *Nask͟h* characters :—

(۱) بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم - نصرمن الله و فتح قریب - و بشرالمومنین - بناء هذا المذبد في عهد سلطان العادل سید السادات

(۲) مجمع السعادات علاء‌الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر حسین شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطنه باني خیر شاهزاده دانیال سلمه الله تعالی فی‌الدارین سنه ثلث و تسعمایة ❋

Translation.

In the name of the Merciful, the Most compassionate Allah, "With God's help victory is imminent; and announce the joyful tidings to the faithful."

The erection of this dome took place in the reign of the just king, the Sayyid of Sayyids, the compendium of virtues, 'Alā-ud-Dunyā wad-Dīn Abul Muzaffar Ḥusain Shāh Sulṭān, May God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The builder of this religious edifice is Shāhzāda Dānyāl, May God Almighty preserve him in both worlds! Year 903 A.H. (equivalent to 1497-8 A.D.).

(*h*) Fair; This monument is not maintained by the Archæological Dept. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Monghyr, 229-30; A. S. R., E. C. (1903), 10; S. A. B., XV, 64; Riāzus Salātīn, I, 371; J. A. S. B. (1872), pt. I, 335; (*k*) 2206*a*, 2339.

SANTAL PARGANAS DISTRICT.

Rājmaḥal.

No. 78.—(*a*) Muniā or Mainā Bībī's tomb.

(*b*) On the west of the kachcha road leading south (towards the Thāna) from the South Bāzār of Rājmaḥal; (*c*) Nawwāb of Murshidābād; (*d*) II b; (*e*) Uncertain; probably Mughal period.

(*f*) The tomb is a square domed chamber with 4 narrow octagonal towers at the corners. Externally, it measures 26 ft. 4 ins. between the towers, and internally is 17 ft. 11 ins. square. Except on the west, the walls are pierced with three arches in each side—the central one being slightly larger than those at the sides. The walls are 5 ft. 1 in. thick. The doors or openings are contained within large arches, of which there are eight in all. The spandrils between the arches around the internal walls are filled with corbel courses reducing the plan to a circle, from which springs a small hemispherical dome above. The building was entirely plastered over both inside and out and traces of colour decoration exist on the soffit of the dome, the exterior casing of which, however, seems to be a recent restoration. The grave of Mainā Bībī, which occupies the central position under the dome and is placed on a masonry platform ($8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 6 ft.), is provided with a small *qalamdān*, representative of a male occupant; but it is possible that this was added by mistake while the tomb was being repaired in modern times.

The main entrance is on the south and is approached by 2 steps built against the south wall. It is 3 ft. 4 ins. wide, *i.e.*, only 5 ins. wider than the central doors on the other sides. Above the foundations the walls are faced with blocks of stone up to a height of about 2 ft. 4 in. or nearly up to the floor level of the interior.

The corner towers were originally surmounted by *gumzīs*. To south of the south-west tower is another grave on a masonry platform (8 ft. 10 ins. by 5 ft. 9 ins.). Some say that it enshrines the relics of Muniā Bībī, and the inner one those of her *pīr* or spiritual adviser. But there is a small *qalamdān* on this grave also.

To south of the tomb is a large square tank surrounded by high stone walls with a *ghāṭ* in the middle of each side.

The Gazetteer does not mention who Mainā or Muniā Bībī was; but there is a local tradition to the effect that she was the mistress of a King or Nawwāb. If this is to be believed, the tomb might be ascribed to Munnī Begam, a concubine of Nawwāb Mīr Ja'far of Bengal. After the death of the Nawwāb and his two sons, Najmud-Daula and Saifud-Daula, she was appointed guardian to Mubārakud-Daula, the infant son of the late Nawwāb, by Warren Hastings, in preference to others who had better claims. The guardianship was taken away from the Begam in 1776 A.D. She was the mother of Najmud-Daula, and died in 1779 A.D.=1193 A.H.

(*g*) On the west wall of the tomb (outer face) is fixed a slab of black stone inscribed with the following Qurānic verses in Tughrā characters:—

نصرمن الله و فتح قريب و بشرالمومنين - والله خير حافظا وهو ارحم الراحمين - ويسبح الرعد بحمده
والملئكته من خيفته - انا فتحنا لك فتحاً مبيناً يغفر لك الله ماتقدم من ذنبك وما تاخر و يتم نعمته
عليک و يهديک صراطاً مستقيماً و ينصرک الله نصراً عزيزاً *

The inscription appears to have originally belonged to some other building.

(*h*) Trees are growing in the masonry of the walls. The interior and the surroundings are very dirty. This monument is not maintained by the Archæological Department and its notification of protection has now been withdrawn by the local Government. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Santal Parganas, 274-75; L. A. M. B., 460; Beale's Oriental Bibliography, 280; (*k*) 1371, 2429.

No. 79.—(*a*) Saṅgī Dālān or "Stone Pavilion".

(*b*) To west of the European Cemetery and the Kachahrī, on the south bank of the Ganges; (*c*) The building is in the possession of the East Indian Railway Company; (*d*) II b; (*e*) About 1650 A.D.

(*f*) The Saṅgī Dālān is one of the few remnants of a large palace erected by Prince Shujā', the second son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, immediately after his removal of the provincial capital from Gaur to Rājmahal, or Akbarnagar as the place is called by the Muhammadan writers. Originally this building consisted of three oblong rooms, and the end apartments were then only provided with small windows. A European gentleman, however, who occupied the palace buildings in the early years of the last century, divided these rooms into five for his own convenience, and enlarged the windows into doorways; so that all the rooms are now open on all four sides. The building has a pleasant situation, and is believed to have been

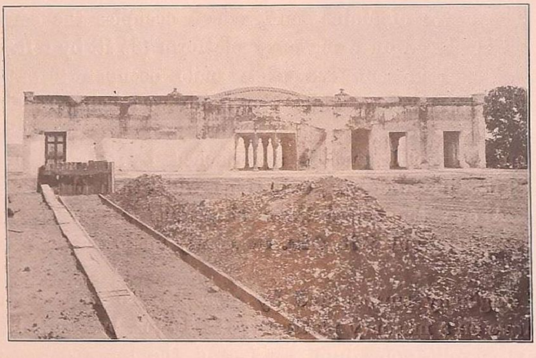


Fig. 128.—Saṅji Dālān, Rājmahal.

used by the prince and his ladies "while enjoying the fresh air that blows from the river". The central chamber is small but elegant, and measures 26 ft. 3 ins. by 12 ft. internally. It is entered through three multifoil arches of black marble supported on double sets of 12-sided pillars and pilasters of the same material, with three similar arches opening towards the river. The present name of the building is apparently derived from these stone arches. The roof of this chamber is vaulted. The walls when seen by Bishop Heber in A.D. 1823, "still retained traces of gilding and Arabic inscriptions," though they are now bereft of such decoration.

On each side of the central chamber is a small room (13 ft. by 8 ft. 7 ins.) with a flat roof; while at the ends of the building are the oblong rooms (each 21 ft. 6 ins. by 13 ft. 10 ins.) roofed with wooden beams and rafters. The whole structure, as it stands at present, is 101 feet long east to west by 19 feet wide It opens immediately on to the river, and has a lofty plinth, the floor of the pavilion being some twenty feet above the river bank. The thickness of the walls varies from 2 ft. 10 ins. to 3 ft. 3 ins. Over the multifoil arches in front are some brackets of the same black stone, which probably supported a *chhajja* similar to that seen on the river side. A few inches below the floor of the building in the plinth wall on the river side are to be seen the ends of a number of wooden beams 4 to 5 inches square in section, which, according to the District Gazetteer, are believed to "indicate the existence of some underground rooms" below the pavilion. Judging, however, from the distances of these beams from each other, it is more likely that they are the remains of a projecting balcony or gallery—a feature more in keeping with the nature of the structure itself. On either side of the building are the ruins of some bastions, which were probably part of the enclosure walls of the palace. According to the author of the District Gazetteer, the building is said to have been erected by Rājā Mān Singh; but its style points to a later period, *viz.*, the reign of S̲h̲āh Jahān (1627-58 A.D.).

(*g*) Over the central archway in the southern façade has been put up recently an English inscription on a marble slab. It reads as follows:—

'Protected Monument.'

'This building, known as the Saṅgī Dālān or Marble Pavilion, is part of a large palace of the same name, probably erected by Mān Singh, Akbar's Viceroy in Bengal (Circa 1580-1600 A.D.) or according to some, by S̲h̲āh S̲h̲ujā, second son of S̲h̲āh Jahān (circa 1650 A.D.).'

(*h*) Good. (*j*) Martin's Eastern India, II, 76; Heber's India, I, 255; L. A. M. B., 456; Dist. Gazet., Santal Parganas, 274; (*k*) 1369, 1370, 2428.

No. 80.—(*a*) The Jāmi' Masjid.

(*b*) On a small eminence called Hadaf (Target or Archery butts) some 4 miles west of the Railway Station, and about 100 yds. to south of the road leading to Sāḥibganj. The place is

more commonly known now-a-days as Maṅgal-hāt from the fact that a *hāt* or market is held near it every Tuesday (Maṅgal); (*c*) Government; (*d*) II c; (*e*) The mosque is said to have been built by Rājā Mān Singh $\frac{(995-1015 \text{ A.D.})}{(1580-1600 \text{ A.D.})}$.

(*f*) The Jāmi' Masjid at Hadaf has been an imposing building. In scale and general design it is superior to many of the large mosques in the province. Originally the mosque consisted of a large prayer chamber to west and a spacious courtyard in front enclosed by a high compound wall, which was relieved with arched recesses on the inner face and pierced by three gateways on the north, south, and east. The eastern gateway formed the main entrance into the courtyard, and was provided with a porch in front. Along the enclosure wall, on the inner side, was a continuous low platform about 10 feet wide; and in front of the prayer-chamber was a still larger one measuring about 62 feet in width. The northern half of the prayer-chamber has disappeared, and the remaining portion measures (internally) 90 ft. 3 ins. long and 49 feet wide. At present the prayer-chamber consists of a large central hall roofed transversely by an unusually lofty pointed vault, and a set of four chambers, divided into two aisles, to south of it—the smaller chambers being covered by four large hemispherical domes resting on lofty arches. Viewed from the exterior the central vault looks two-storied—an effect produced by the range of windows along the sides of the vault and by the continuous parapet below surmounting the east wall of the prayer-chamber. The arch piers supporting the domes, etc., are about 8 feet square, and are faced with stone masonry up to the springing of the arches. The corbel construction in the spandrils or intervening spaces of these arches is composed of alternate courses of bricks laid flat and on edge. The west wall of the prayer-chamber is relieved with several niches, over certain of which may be observed some floral designs picked out in stucco. One of these niches at the south end contained an opening affording private entry through the west wall, which is here 7 feet thick.

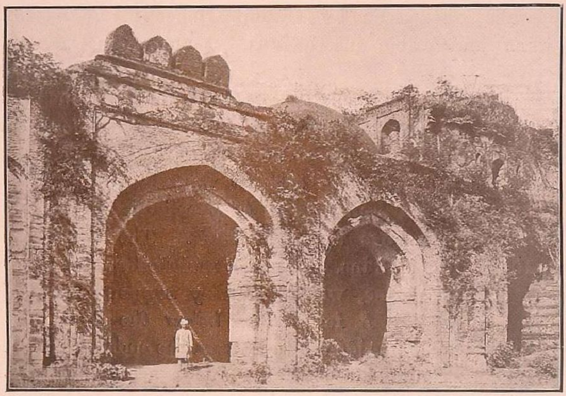


FIG. 129.—Jāmi' Masjid, Hadaf, near Rājmahal.

At the extreme south end of the prayer-chamber is a set of four small rooms ($9\frac{1}{2}$ feet square) running east to west and covered by small domes. A broad stair to the south of these leads to a second storey of similar domed chambers (10 feet square) above them; and a short stair at the south-west

corner gives access to the roof of the prayer-chamber, which is surrounded by a low parapet wall.

At each corner of the prayer-chamber is a lofty octagonal tower relieved with moulded string-courses and finished with *gumzīs* at the top; and at the ends of the east enclosure wall, as also on either side of the main gate on the east, are circular turrets of smaller dimension. Originally the building was finished entirely with plaster both inside and out. In the middle of the courtyard was a *bāolī* surrounded by chambers, but it is now silted up and overgrown with jungle. Including the compound wall (which is in a damaged condition) the mosque measures 250 feet east to west and 210 feet north to south.

(*g*) None. (*h*) The northern half of the prayer chamber has totally collapsed and the debris of its walls, arches and domes is now overgrown with jungle. (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Santal Parganas, 276; L. A. M. B., 460; Martin's Eastern India, II, 69; A. S. R., E. C., (1903), 6; (*k*) 2292, 2293, 2432-35.

No. 81.—(*a*) The Mughal Bridge.

(*b*) About 800 yards north-west of the Masjid (No. 80) on the road to Sāḥibganj; (*c*) Government; (*d*) II a; (*e*) According to the Gazetteer, the bridge is said to be contemporaneous with the Jāmi' Masjid of Rājā Mān Singh (circa 1580—1600), but the style of its architecture points to a later date, and it is probable that it may have been constructed during the viceroyalty of Sulṭān Shujā', second son of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, about 1650 A.D.

(*f*) The Hadaf bridge is an interesting structure of six arches, each 11 feet in span. It is 236 feet long and 24 feet broad at the top, and at each end of it are two circular bastions of stone masonry, one on either side of the roadway. The bastions taper upward as they rise, and are about 32 feet in diameter at the top, which is flat and is approached by steps. The piers supporting the arches of the bridge are 28 ft. 5 ins. deep, and 17 feet wide, and each pier is further extended to form a cut-water at both ends running some 16 feet into the stream. Both the piers and cut-waters are faced with stone masonry up to the springing of the arches, which, like the upper walls and parapets, are built of small finely rubbed bricks. Half cut-waters are also added at the inner faces of the bastions. The addition of small finials at the tops of the cut-waters and simple ornament framing the arches and appearing at the cornice below the parapets, lends in-

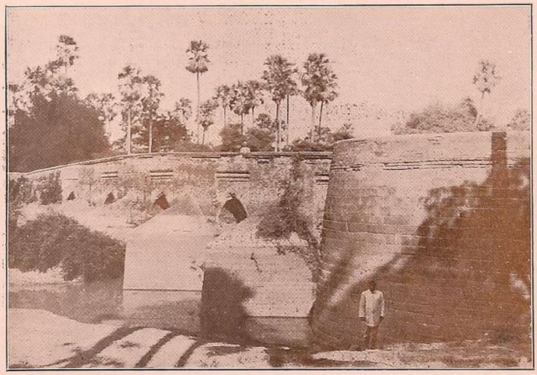


FIG. 130.—Mughal bridge at Hadaf, near Rājmahal.

terest to the structure. Like the Hindū bridges in Orissa, (Nos. 87 and 124), this bridge also rises in the middle, where the arches are higher than at the ends,—a characteristic which, besides being of aesthetic value in lending grace to the outline, affords additional strength to the construction by reason of its effect in wedging the structure between the banks and so strengthening the whole against subsidence and the lateral force of the stream. The total height of the bridge including the parapets (which are 3 ft. 9 ins. high) varies from 21 feet to 25 feet above the bed of the stream.

The stone used in the masonry of the bastions and piers, etc., is locally known as the *Teliā*. It appears to be limestone.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Santal Parganas, 277; L. A. M. B., 460; (*k*) 2294, 2295, 2430, 2431.

ORISSA DIVISION.

CUTTACK DISTRICT.

Cuttack.

No. 82.—(*a*) Bārabati Fort, locally known as the Qil'a.

(*b*) On the south bank of the Katjuṛiā river opposite to the city; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Abul Faẓl in his *Āīn-i-Akbarī* ascribes the construction of the fort to Teliṅga Mukand Deo, the last of the independent Hindū Kings of Orissa, who ruled from 1560 to 1568 A.D.

(*f*) In the Temple Records of Puri the foundation of the town of Cuttack is ascribed to the Keśarī kings of Orissa. This may or may not be correct, but there can be no doubt that Cuttack was the capital of the indigenous kings of Orissa from a very early date—being admirably adapted for the purpose by the natural strength of its position, which rendered it a safe place of retreat. The natural strength of the place was still further increased by Rājā Mukand Deo, the last king of Orissa, who built the great fort of Bārabati on the southern bank of the Mahānadī. But the building of the fort had hardly been completed when the country was overrun by Kālā-Pahāṛ, the Afghān general of Sulaimān Karārānī, king of Bengal, and the fort passed into the hands of the conquerors, who did not, however, remain long in possession.

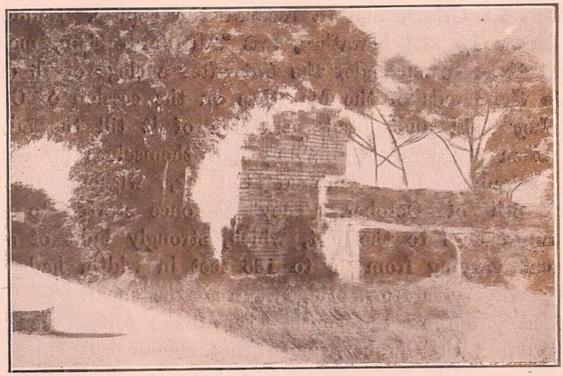


FIG. 131.—Bārabati Fort: East gate, Cuttack.

In 1575 A.D. Dā'ūd Khān, the last Afghān king of Bengal and Orissa, was defeated by Todar Mal and Mun'im Khān at Mughalmāri, and, taking refuge in Cuttack, executed a treaty there, by which he was allowed to retain Orissa on ceding Bihār and Bengal to the Emperor Akbar; but in 1576 his disastrous defeat and death at Rājmahal left the way clear for the Imperial forces; and Cuttack became the capital of the Mughal Ṣūbahdārs. In the

troubled times which followed, as during the viceroyalty of 'Alī Vardī Khān, it again became the centre of fierce conflicts. 'Alī Vardī Khān first had to wrest it from the grasp of Murshid Qulī Khān, the brother-in-law of his predecessor; and then, when the people rose in revolt against the oppression of his Deputy, he was forced to march again on Cuttack with an army of 20,000 men. Mīrzā Bāqir 'Alī Khān, who had assumed the Government, was encamped with troops and artillery on the southern bank of the Mahānadī; but 'Alī Vardī Khān's soldiers, plunging into the river, quickly crossed to Cuttack at the Jobra Ghāt, and, dispersing the opposing forces, entered the town in triumph (1741 A.D.). The Marathas now, however, began to overrun Orissa, and for the next ten years we have a confused record of marchings and counter-marchings with Cuttack as the prize for which the contending parties struggled. Not long after the departure of 'Alī Vardī Khān, Raghujī Bhoñsla suddenly burst upon Orissa and appeared under the walls of the fort, where the garrison sustained a vigorous seige for about a month. The citadel was, however, ill-equipped for a lengthy defence; provisions ran short, and at last the commandant capitulated and the Marathas took possession of the city. In 1746 Raghujī Bhoñsla, who had in the meantime been busy with his raids in Bengal, retired to Berār; and the next year 'Alī Vardī Khān determined to conduct a vigorous campaign against the Marathas in Orissa, and to recover the capital. Reinforcements were sent from Berār by the Marathas, but 'Alī Vardī Khān, making a forced march, compelled them to surrender the fort after a siege of 15 days. It soon passed again into the hands of the Marathas on the cession of Orissa to them in 1751, and they held undisputed possession of it till the advent of the British in 1803, when the Marathas having shut themselves up in the fort, the small British invading force entered Cuttack, without meeting any opposition, on the 8th of October. They at once started to erect batteries and force the approaches to the fort, which, strongly built of stone and surrounded by a moat varying from 35 to 135 feet in width, had only one entrance, reached by a very narrow bridge across the moat. The batteries, erected five hundred yards off the south face of the fort, were completed by the night of the 13th October, and firing commenced early the following morning. By 11 A.M. all the defences had been knocked to pieces, and the guns of the fort silenced. The storming party, consisting of a detachment from His Majesty's 22nd Regiment and the Madras European Regiment, 400 sepoys from the 20th Bengal Native Infantry, the 9th and 19th Madras Native Infantry, and some artillery, with a six-pounder to blow open the gate, advanced to the attack. The bridge was quickly passed, under a heavy fire from the fort, but it was nearly forty minutes before the wicket was blown open sufficiently to admit one man. The Europeans passed in singly but with such rapidity that, notwithstanding the resistance at the inner gates, they overwhelmed the garrison, who after a very severe loss abandoned the fort.

As stated above, the fort of Bārabati was built by Mukand Deo, the last Hindū king of Orissa (1560-68). In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* it is described as a grand

palace consisting of nine courts, the first of which was used for the elephants, camels, and horses; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards, and contained quarters for attendants; the third by the patrol and gate-keepers; in the fourth were located the workshops; in the fifth the kitchen; the sixth contained the public reception rooms; the seventh the private apartments; the eighth the women's apartments; and the ninth the sleeping chamber of the Rājā himself.

"It was here that the Mughal Sūbahdārs held their court, and fortunately we have a description of its splendour in the account of William Burton, who visited it with Ralph Cartwright in 1633. He was much impressed with the magnificence and pomp of the stately court of Malcandy, as he calls it, Malcandy being apparently a corrupt form of Mukanda Deva. 'The English travellers,' writes Mr. Wilson in 'The Early Annals of the English in Bengal,' reached the place from the east over a long narrow causeway, and were conducted through a labyrinth of buildings to the court of public audience. Here Burton and his companion awaited the coming of his Highness, and found themselves objects of much curiosity. At last the word came that the Nabob was approaching. The place was forthwith spread with rich carpets, gold pillars being placed at the corners to hold them down, and in the middle a red velvet bolster for his Highness to recline against. Thus, preceded by his brother, a comely man carrying a sword, accompanied by fifty grave-looking courtiers and greeted on all sides with low prostrations, came the Moghul Governor, a fair and stately personage, leaning his arms upon two of his attendants. This was Āghā Muhammad Zamān, a Persian grandee born in Tehran, who was in high favour with the Emperor Shah Jahān, and had recently been sent to Orissa to wage war against the King of Golkonda. He very affably inclined his head towards Mr. Cartwright, who was presented to him by Mirzā Momin and, slipping off his sandal, offered his foot to our merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at last he was fain to do it. Then the Nabob and the whole court sat down crossed-legged. The English merchant brought forth his presents, and made his requests to the Nabob for trading privileges. But by the time he had reached the end of his story, the King's Almoner gave the signal for prayers, and the whole company knelt down with their faces towards the setting sun. Prayers being ended, and business laid aside, the palace was soon ablaze with countless wax tapers, which the attendants lighted up with great ceremony." (Dist. Gazett., 203-04).

Even as late as the beginning of the 19th century, the citadel must have been an imposing sight, to judge from Mr. Stirling's description of it (published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, 1825). "The only monument," he writes "of the Gajapati Rajas which their ancient capital exhibits is the fortress of Barabati, built in the 14th century by Raja Ananga Bhim Deo. Some ascribe its erection to Telinga Mukund Deo, the last of the independent sovereigns of Orissa, and others refer it back to a period as early as the times of the Kesari dynasty. However that point may stand, its square

sloping towers or bastions, and general style, bespeak clearly a Hindu origin. The Muhammadan or Maratha governors added a round bastion at the N.W. angle, and constructed the great arched gateway in the eastern face, which alterations are alluded to in a Persian inscription, giving for the date of repairs and additions the fourth year of the reign of Ahmad Shah or A.D. 1750. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area measuring 2,150 by 1,800 feet. The entrance lies through a grand gateway on the east, flanked by two lofty square towers, having the sides inclining inwards from the base to the summit. A noble ditch faced with masonry surrounds the whole, measuring in the broadest part two hundred and twenty feet across. From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag-staff. This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river face, gives to the edifice an imposing, castellated appearance, so much so that the whole when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahānadi presented to the imagination of Mr. La Motte, who travelled through the province in 1767 A.D., some resemblance to the west side of Windsor Castle. No traces of the famous palace of Rājā Mukund Deo, mentioned in the Āīn-i-Akbarī, are to be found within the walls of fort Barabati, but the fragments of sculptured cornices, etc., which have been dug up at different times, more especially a massive candelabra, or pillar furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine grey indurated Chlorite or pot stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid edifice ".

There is little in the present appearance of the fort or *Qil'a,* as it is generally called, which answers to the above description. Soon after the place was occupied by the British forces all the buildings in the Fort were pulled down by the Public Works Department, and the stones thus obtained were used in the construction of the Light House at False Point and other public buildings, as well as for metalling the roads. The fort now contains the Station Club and the hospital, magazine, and barracks for the use of soldiers stationed here ; and also a fine three-domed mosque, named after one Fath K͟hān, which is the only building of any antiquity in the fort. Originally there must have been several tanks within the fort area, but these are mostly silted up now, except one, on the western edge of which stands the tomb of a Muhammadan saint known as Buk͟hārī Ṣāḥib. The tomb is a flat-roofed modern structure, about 18 feet by 15, and consists of two rooms, the eastern or back one containing the grave. The plinth of the structure is overgrown with a large *pīpal* tree, which has done considerable damage to the stone masonry on the tank side. The attendants of the tomb could not furnish any information about the saint, but the District Gazetteer mentions that the tomb contains the head of one 'Alī Buk͟hārī, who took a conspicuous part in the final siege and capture of the Bārabati fort, and whose headless trunk was carried by his horse to Jājpūr, where his tomb is still to be seen near the S. D. O.'s Bungalow.

The only remnants of the Bārabati Fort extant are an arched gateway on the east and a broad moat faced with stone masonry all round the fort.

The moat, which is entirely under cultivation, now measures about 100 feet wide and 12 feet deep. The stone facing has disappeared everywhere except on the east and south sides.

The gateway consists of an arched opening 9 ft. 3 ins. wide and 16 feet high, flanked by two square sloping towers to the right and left. A large banyan tree has taken root in the southern tower. The moat is crossed by a solid causeway flanked by short masonry walls.

Internally, the gate was provided with a suite of three chambers on each side, which were apparently added at a later date, and are now blocked up. The rooms on the left or south side had arched entrances; those on the north lintel-headed doors, with a paved verandah in front.

The position of the huge bastion or "cavalier" which, according to Mr. Stirling, supported a flagstaff in the centre of the fort is probably marked by the large mound of earth and broken masonry on the top of which now stands a gun.

The fort walls were about 90 feet back from the moat, and their site is marked by a low ridge of earth and stones running parallel to the moat. They appear to have been about 12 feet in thickness. The fort area, including the moat, measures about 2,300 ft. by 1,475 ft. Stirling gives the area within the walls as 2,150 ft. by 1,800 ft., but the latter figure, *viz.*, 1,800, would appear to be a misprint for 1,300.

(*g*) None. The Persian inscription, dated 1750 A.D., spoken of by Stirling as recording the "construction of the great arched gateway" and existing "on the eastern face of a round bastion at the N.W. angle" of the fort cannot be traced now.

(*h*) Good; (*j*) S.A.B., XVIII, 83-84; District Gazetteer, Cuttack, 204-07; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 112; Asiatic Researches, XV (1825), 189-190; (*k*) 2178, 2179, 2181.

Jājpūr.

No. 83.—(*a*) Broken image of a Bodhisattva.

(*b*) In front of the Sub-Divisional Officer's bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) 8th or 9th Century A.D.

(*f*) The statue is a colossal image, 16 feet 5 inches in height by 5 feet 2 inches in width, locally known as the Kaliyuga. In Dr. Mitra's time it was called Santa Mādhava (*i.e.*, Krishṇa) apparently from its having been brought to this place from the small village of Santa Mādhava some two miles from Jājpūr. In reality it appears to be a figure of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, in high relief. The face is badly damaged, the statue is broken across the loins, and the feet and right hand are missing. The ornaments include ear-rings, necklet, girdle and tiara, above the last-named being the small figure of a Dhyānī-Buddha seated cross-legged as usual, in the attitude of meditation. There are traces of a long lotus stalk in the left hand, which is placed

on the hip, and of another lotus plant near the right knee, indicating that originally the figure held a lotus flower in each hand. This circumstance, and the presence of the girdle, would ordinarily suggest a figure of Sūrya rather than that of a Bodhisattva, but the Dhyānī-Buddha above the tiara seems to preclude an identification of the image with the Sun-God. The latter almost always wears a high crown, but in the present case the hair is brushed back from the forehead and is arranged in a large chignon on the top of the head, a few strands falling thence to the shoulders. The material is sandstone.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Fair; (*j*) Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, II, 159; P.A.S.B. 1872, pl. III; (*k*) 2186 and 2188.

No. 84.—(*a*) Image of Chāmuṇḍā.

(*b*) In front of the Sub-Divisional Officer's bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) About the 9th century A.D.

Fig. 132.—Image of Chāmuṇḍā, Jājpūr.

(*f*) This image (height 9 ft. 1 in.; width 6 ft.) is a remarkable piece of sculpture. The goddess is represented as the hideous skeleton of a decrepit old woman, all bones and skin and no flesh, seated in an easy posture on a prostrate human being. She wears necklaces of human skulls and ornaments of bones; and had originally four arms, all of which are broken. The sculptor's attempt to indicate the extreme emaciation of the goddess is remarkably successful, though anatomically open to criticism. The image is carved in chlorite and was brought from near the *Mukti-maṇḍapa* in the vicinity. It is carved in full relief, like No. 84.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Hunter's Orissa, I, 269; Dist. Gazet., Cuttack, 215; S.A.B., XVIII, 87-88, A.R., XV, 335-336; (*k*) 1211, 1891, 2190.

No. 85.—(*a*) Colossal image of Indrāṇī.

(*b*) In front of the Sub-Divisional Officer's bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) about 9th century A.D.

(*f*) This four-armed statue (height 8 ft. 8 ins; width 5 ft. 9 ins.) represents Indrāṇī, the wife of Indra, as one of the Seven Mothers of Hindu mythology. She is seated on a raised throne in an easy posture (*līlāsana*) and is readily identifiable through her *Vāhana*, the elephant, sculptured on the pedestal. The goddess wears a high conical headdress, elaborate ornaments, and a *sārī*, the folds of the *sārī* falling in front on the pedestal. On her left thigh she originally held a child, but this portion of the sculpture is now broken and missing.

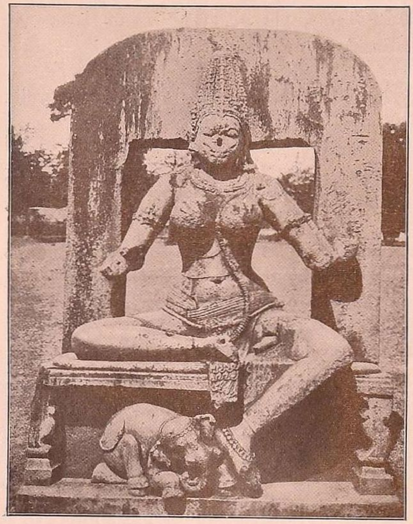


FIG. 133.—Image of Indrāṇī, Jājpūr.

The image is made of chlorite and carved in full relief. It has been brought from the *Mukti-maṇḍapa*.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Hunter's Orissa, I, 268; S.A.B., XVIII, 87; Dist. Gazet., Cuttack, 215; Asiatic Researches, XV, 335-336; (*k*) 129, 1889, 2191.

No. 86.—(*a*) Image of Vārāhī.

(*b*) In front of the Sub-Divisional Officer's bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) About the 9th century A.D.

(*f*) A colossal four-armed image (height 8 ft. 10 ins., width 6 ft.) of Vārāhī seated in an easy posture, with the right leg pendant, the foot resting on a buffalo sculptured on the pedestal.

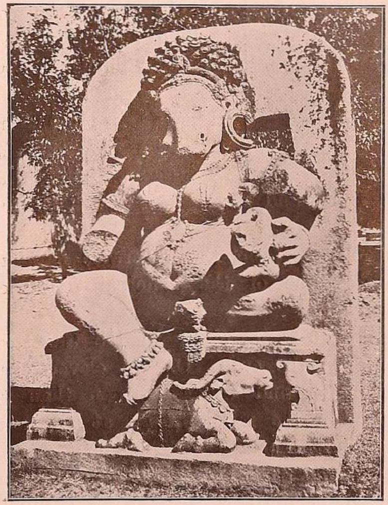


FIG. 134.—Image of Vārāhī, Jājpūr.

The image represents the earth Goddess, who assumed human form in order to become the wife of the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. She is shown with three eyes, and the hair is treated in 'cork-screw' curls raised high on the forehead. She wears ornaments and a *sārī*, the ends of the latter falling on the pedestal.

Three of her four arms are broken; the fourth holds a child on her left thigh. The head of the child was formed of a separate block of stone and has disappeared.

The image, which is carved in chlorite, is practically in full relief, the back slab having been cut away about the centre. It is said to have once belonged to the *Mukti-maṇḍapa*, the site of which, now occupied by the tombs of Bukhārī Ṣāḥib, his nephew and his horse, is situated about 100 yards to the south of the Sub-Divisional Officer's bungalow.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Hunter's Orissa, I, 268; L.A.M.B., 472; Dist. Gazet., Cuttack, 215; S.A.B., XVIII, 87; Asiatic Researches, XV, 335-336; (*k*) 1210, 1890, 2189.

No. 87.—(*a*) Athāranāla or Tentūlīmal bridge.

(*b*) South-west of the Chandeśvara village, about 1½ miles from the Inspection Bungalow; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain, probably built by one of the Independent Kings of Orissa some time before the Mughal conquest in the 16th century A.D.

(*f*) The Athāranāla at Jājpūr is a bridge of eleven openings spanned by a corbelled construction; and thus is not subjected to the side thrust imposed by the true arch form, the stresses here being solely vertical. This construction of overlapping courses is similar to that of the Athāranāla bridge at Puri; but at Jājpūr a narrow space is left at the top of the corbelling and is spanned by deep lintels splayed at the ends to afford a key (after the manner of an arch voussoir). The splayed lintels are each some 3 to 4 feet deep and a foot thick, and run right through the full depth of the opening from end to end.

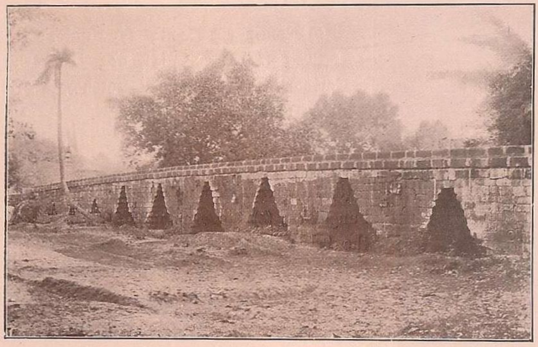


Fig. 135.—Athāranāla bridge, Jājpūr.

This final key-stone construction is missing from the otherwise similarly constructed bridge at Puri, and constitutes one of the principal differences between them.

The whole bridge is 210 ft. long (not 240 ft. as given in the Gazetteer) and 31 feet wide including the abutments at the ends. Of the eleven openings of the bridge, the central five are higher and wider in span than the side ones, making the bridge much higher in the middle than at the ends. The central arches are 8½ feet in span and rest on piers of about the same thickness. The abutments at the ends are built of laterite, but in the central portion blocks of sandstone and granite have been freely used; while a number of stones carved with human and animal figures, which are built up promiscuously in the piers, clearly indicate that the remains of a mediæval temple

were utilised in repairing the bridge. The openings are now largely silted up; and the Madāgin, which used to run beneath the bridge, now no longer flows as a regular stream.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 113; L.A.M.B., 478-80; Dist. Gazet., Cuttack, 217-18; (*k*) 2182—84.

No. 88.—(*a*) Chaṇḍeśvara Pillar or *Śubha-stambha*.

(*b*) About a mile and a half from the town and a few yards off the road from the bazār to the temple of Birajā; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) Late Gupta.

(*f*) The pillar stands on a pedestal of 3 blocks of stone, the lowest of which measures 5 ft. 3 ins. by 4 ft. 10 ins. and the second and third 4 ft. 10 ins. and 4 ft. 6 ins., square respectively, making up a total height of 5 ft. 4½ ins. The shaft is a monolith 19 ft. 7 ins. high (not 29 feet as given by Mitra), with a diameter of 3 ft. 5 ins. It is square at the base for 1 ft. 5 ins., octagonal for the next 9 inches and sixteen-sided above. The cap consists of a 16-sided cylindrical block 4 feet high, ornamented with *Kīrtimukha* heads with heavy pearl garlands pendant, and surmounted by a lotus calyx, which supports in turn a square slab relieved with a cyma-reversa moulding on the north and south faces and carved with a group of three *Atlantes* on the east and west. The lotus calyx and the square abacus above are each about 2 feet high. There is no crowning figure over the square abacus on top. The pillar is of chlorite and its total height from the present ground level to the top of the square abacus is nearly 33 feet (not 37 feet as given by Mitra). The sixteen-sided shaft and the different parts of the capital are all exquisitely chiselled and highly polished, but the base is left rough and unpolished, and is very irregular at the corners. Each of the three blocks of stone forming the base or pedestal has been pierced with diagonal holes at the four corners. Dr. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Cuttack* says that the legend about these holes is that Kālā-pahāṛ, general of Sulaimān Karārānī the Afghān king of Bengal, after his conquest of Jājpūr made a vain attempt to pull down the column by means of chains and teams of elephants; but succeeded only in removing the *Garuḍa* capital (from the top of the column) which is said to be now preserved in a small temple about half a mile from the pillar. This legend, however, does not bear criticism; for if it had ever been

Fig. 136.—Chaṇḍeśvara pillar, Jājpūr.

intended to pull down the pillar the chains would have been fastened near the top of the column rather than at the base. Moreover, the pedestals of these massive Hindū pillars were usually elaborately ornamented with beautiful mouldings and carvings, while in the present case the base is absolutely devoid of ornament and has every appearance of having been left unfinished. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that the holes, which are twelve in number (each block of stone having been pierced with a hole at each of the four corners), were originally intended for the metal or stone dowels holding the outer casing of the base. The Aruṇa pillar standing in front of the Puri Temple affords an analogous instance. It is only a few inches higher than the Chaṇḍeśvara pillar, and though much more slender and light—being only two feet in diameter—its elaborate base is 7 ft. 9 ins. square at the bottom, while the base of the Chaṇḍeśvara pillar is only 4 ft. 10 ins. square. As regards the removal of the *Garuḍa*, it may be observed that the square abacus at the top of the pillar has not been injured in any way, which would probably not have been the case had the crowning figure been pulled down by an iconoclast.

It has also been asserted by Dr. Hunter and others that the pillar marks the site of a large temple, all traces of which have been obliterated. This appears to be improbable, for the remains of the *Mukti-maṇḍapa* at Jājpūr, believed to have been destroyed by Kālā-pahāṛ, are still traceable around the Bu<u>kh</u>ārī Ṣāḥib's tomb. The Chaṇḍeśvara pillar, in short, seems to have been a *Kīrti-stambha* set up by some local Rājā to commemorate a victory; and its present name "*Śubha stambha*", 'The Auspicious Column', and the *Kīrtimukha* heads it bears on the capital also lend, perhaps, some slight support to this view.

Bābū Chandrasekhara Banerji says that at the foot of the pillar "there was an inscription on a slab, which a Sanyāsī destroyed in the hope of obtaining the treasure which he supposed was hidden behind it." If this is so, the inscription was doubtless cut on a separate slab attached to the present rough stone base.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Excellent; (*j*) L.A.M.B., 476-78; Hunter's Orissa, I, 266-7, Dist. Gazet., Cuttack, 216; P.A.S.B., 1872, 31-32; S.A.B. XVIII, 86; (*k*) 1208, 1892, 2185.

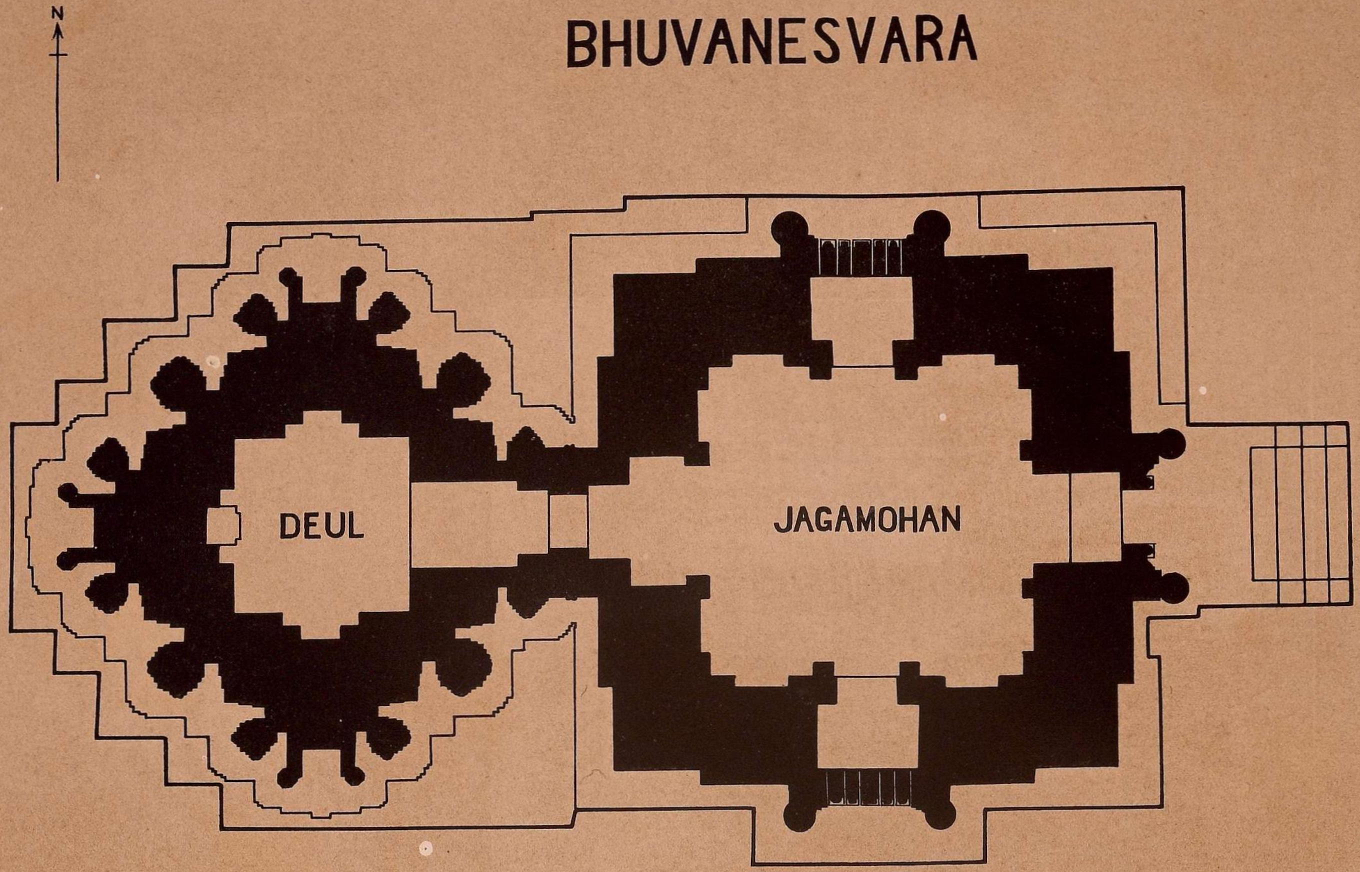
PURI DISTRICT.

Bhuvaneśvara.

No. 89.—(*a*) Rājā Rānī Temple.

(*b*) About 300 yds. to N.E. of the Mukteśvara Temple; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) Fergusson ascribes it to about 1000 A.D.; Dr. Mitra thinks it might be earlier—about the 9th century A.D.

RAJARANI TEMPLE
BHUVANESVARA



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GROUND PLAN

SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 FEET

(*f*) The Rājā Rānī Temple, though comparatively small, is perhaps the most beautiful of the group of temples at Bhuvaneśvara. It marks the culmination in the development of the local style of Indo-Aryan Temple architecture. The plan is so arranged as to give great variety and play of light and shade, and the details are exquisitely carved, making it altogether one of the gems of Orissan architecture. As will be seen from the photograph inset, the motif of decorating a temple with miniatures of itself has been pursued to such an extent in the Rājā Rānī shrine as almost to disguise the real form of the monument.

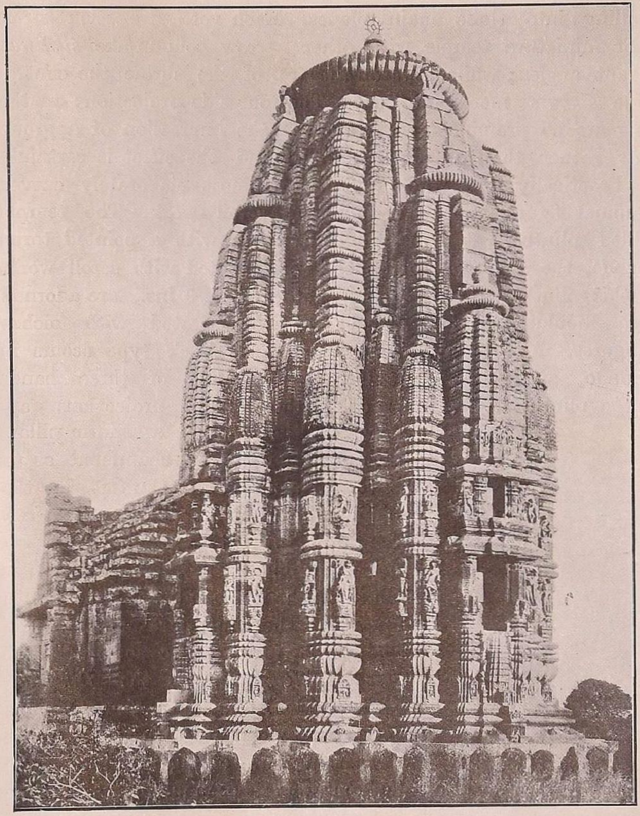

FIG. 137.—Rājā Rānī temple, Bhuvaneśvara.

The Rājā Rānī Temple consists virtually of two contiguous buildings, namely, a sanctuary (*deul*) and a porch (*jagmohan*), a covered passage through the great thickness of wall connecting the interiors of the two structures. The material of which the shrine is built is a fine grained variety of buff-red sandstone. The *deul* and the porch stand on a common platform 70 ft. by 38 ft. and 2 ft. 7 ins. high. The ornamentation of the porch appears never to have been completed, and it is possible that this portion of the structure was added after the completion of the *deul*. The ground plan of the temple is given in the accompanying plate V. The principle of the construction appears to originate in a square, each outer face of the walls being divided progressively by two projections into five separate facets, thus converting it into a *pañcharathī* structure. The central one of these projections, which is usually provided with one or more

niches to accommodate images of the minor deities, is called the *rahapaga*, those on its either side, *anardhapagas*, and the corner ones, *koṇakapagas*. By these *pagas* or projections each side of the structure is divided into five vertical sections falling into three main planes. Each vertical section forms a separate *śikhara* or miniature temple, with other narrow column-like *śikharas* inset in the re-entrant angles; while towards the top of the shrine the central and two of the side *śikharas* merge into one. The four side projections on the faces of the building are so prominent as to convey the impression of a group of attached *śikharas* rather than a single shrine; and the effect is certainly most picturesque. Practically the whole exterior is most elaborately carved with human and animal figures, floral designs and scroll work. The temple stands on a moulded plinth 2 ft. 7 ins. high decorated with a pointed torus between two flat bands, the upper one of which is ornamented with scroll work. The walls rise from this plinth and, up to a height of 4 ft. 9 ins., are adorned with a cyma-reversa moulding set in a flat surface decorated with niches containing human figures. A bold ovolo of a somewhat Greek type occurs in the middle of this dado, and is surmounted by a moulding of three bands resembling that of the plinth. Above this dado the *śikhara* projections are carved in the shape of cruciform pillars with the corners so chamfered as to leave a raised central offset in the middle of each side. These offsets are decorated with two rows of human figures in high relief, one above the other, with a band of mouldings between. The figures are mostly of females, but include also some of the lesser deities, such as the *Dikpālas*, among whom Indra, Agnī, Yama, Varuṇa and Kuvēra can be identified. Above the second row of figures are seven horizontal bands of mouldings, and above the mouldings a spire crowned by an *āmalaka* and a pinnacle. The attached *śikharas* at the corners are more massive and rise to a greater height than those nearer the central projections. Between each *konaka* and *anardha* *śikhara* there is a narrow columnar *śikhara* set corner-wise and decorated with floral scroll work instead of figures. These columnar *śikharas* rise higher than those on either side of them. The vertical recesses between the several *śikharas* are decorated with floral motifs and rampant leogriffs standing on elephants in the lower row, and with human figures, some of which are obscene, in the upper. Above the plinth the central *śikhara* in each façade is provided with two niches, one above the other, but none of these six niches contains any images. The lower

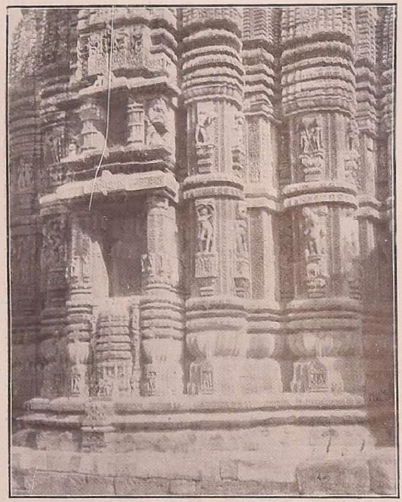

FIG. 138.—Rājā Rānī temple, details of decoration.

niches (4 ft. 8 ins. by 2 ft. 4½ ins.) are flanked by two octagonal pilasters exquisitely carved with human figures and scrolls; and below them is a miniature temple on each front. The columns of the upper niches are comparatively plain and are flanked by leogriffs with riders, standing on crouching elephants. The lintels of the niches are beautifully carved. Above the upper niches rise the projecting *śikharas* over-topping those on each flank. A little higher up, the central and the *anardha* projections merge into one and are treated as a single *śikhara*. Above this point the temple spire is relatively plain and the sides converge inward as they rise higher and higher, until the area of the truncated top is sufficiently reduced to allow of its being covered by stone slabs. Surmounting the spire are the usual *āmalaka*, the *kalaśa* and the finial. The *āmalaka* is supported on four squatting figures of *yakshas*.

The *kalaśa* and the finial are modern restorations. The wheel on the finial of the shrine has also been set up in modern times to indicate that the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Vishṇu. This conclusion was arrived at through an examination of the floor of the shrine, which, it was found, had not been originally provided with a circular hole to receive the lower portion of a *liṅgam*, the phallic emblem of Śiva, usually worshipped in Śaivite temples. It may be remarked, however, that there is no *medhī* or platform in the temple for a Vaisṇavite cult image.

The total height of the temple is 63 feet, according to Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra.

The plinth of the *jagmohan* or porch is 2 ft. 7 ins. high and is raised in 3 tiers of plain dressed sandstone. The walls are relieved with a few bold mouldings to a height of 2 ft. 7 ins., and are perfectly plain above; the continuity of the lines being broken by the projection of a doorway in the east side and of a balustraded window on the north and south. The windows, which are each 5 feet wide by 4 ft. 5 ins. high, are filled by five balusters, a space of about 1½ ins. between each baluster being left for the admission of light. On each side of the windows are two round pillars supporting a plain *chhajja*. The pillars of the northern window are quite plain, but those flanking the southern window bear rough outlines of *Nāgī* figures, with their long serpent tails entwined round the shafts. At the bases of the pillars are three griffins mounted on triple elephants.

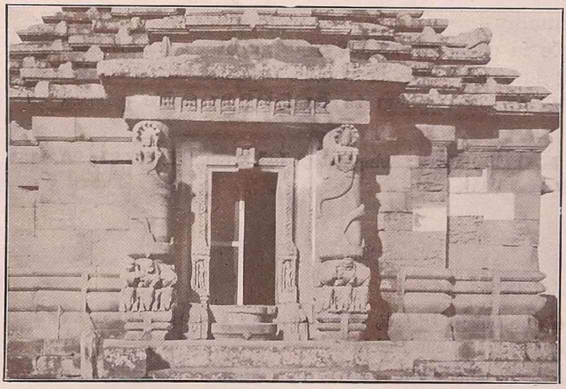

FIG. 139.—Rājā Rānī temple, jagmohan doorway.

Access to the interior of the temple is gained through a doorway in the east wall of the *jagmohan*. On either side of the door is a round pillar, adorned with the same design of three kneeling elephants surmounted by as many lions at the base, and the bodies of *Nāgīs* with serpent tails on the shaft. The hooded heads of the *Nāgīs* appear in the place of capitals. The door jambs and the lintel are also carved. The architrave bears the usual figures of the nine planets or *Navagrahas*. Above the entrance, as well as above the northern window, is carved the seated figure of a lion. The roof of the *jagmohan* is of the usual pyramidal type externally, treated as a receding series of projecting cornices. The *kalaśa* at the top is a restoration.

Internally, the porch is a square of 19 ft. 5 ins. The interior walls are each relieved with four square pilasters, supporting on their capitals the lowest corbelling of the roof, which is constructed in the form of diminishing squares. Altogether, there are seven such squares, the opening in the topmost, of about 6 feet square, being covered with heavy slabs.

A doorway in the west wall of the *jagmohan* leads into the dark cell of the shrine through a covered passage which varies in width from 5 ft. to 7 ft. 9 ins. and is 18 feet in length. The cell itself is 10 ft. 3 in. square with a lofty but shallow recess in each wall. The false roof of the shrine is formed of long stone slabs resting on the capitals of the square pilasters in the walls. There is no image in the temple, and it is doubtful if any was ever installed.

Many of the *alto relievo* figures on the outer walls are modern restorations, several of the original ones having been carried away by Gen. Stewart and Col. Mackenzie. Some of the figures taken away by Gen. Stewart are now in the Indian Museum.

At present the temple is enclosed within a rough stone balustrade measuring 106 feet by 57 feet; but originally it is said to have stood in the middle of a vast garden, part of which appears to be lying as waste ground to the east of the shrine.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) L.A.M.B., 530-31; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 103-04; A.S.R.E.C. (1910-11), 46-47; (*k*) 570—72, and 2232.

Dhauli.

No. 90.—(*a*) Rock edicts of Aśoka.

(*b*) About ¼ mile south of the village Dhaulī, which is some 4 miles south-west of Bhuvaneśvara; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) About 256 B.C.

(*f*) About ¼ mile south of the village Dhaulī, which is some 4 miles south-west of Bhuvaneśvara, are two short ranges of hills running parallel to each other and only a few hundred feet apart. In the southern range, on the rock called Aśvatthāmā, a space of about 15 feet long by 10 feet high has been hewn and polished, and on this polished surface are carved the famous Dhaulī edicts of Aśoka. The inscription is in three columns. The left hand column, in 26 lines, contains the Special Edict I, or the "Provincials' Edict"

of Mr. Vincent Smith; the middle column, in 33 lines, contains General Edicts I-VI; the right hand column is in two parts, the upper, in 19 lines, containing General Edicts VII-X and XIV, and the lower, in 11 lines within a frame, Special Edict II, "The Borderers' Edict" of Mr. Smith.

The edicts were first discovered by Lieut. Kittoe in 1837, and deciphered by James Princep, who published a translation in the *J.A.S.B.* for 1838. Several other translations have since been published, including one by Dr. Bühler in the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Southern India,* Vol. I, 1887. The Special Edicts portion was also revised by M. Senart and translated by Dr. Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XIX. The following translation of the Edicts is that given by Mr. V. A. Smith in his Aśoka *:—

Edict I.

The Sacredness of Life.

'This pious edict has been written by command of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King.

Here (in the capital) no animal may be slaughtered for sacrifice, nor may the holiday-feast be held, because His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King sees much offence in the holiday-feast, although in certain places holiday-feasts are excellent in the sight of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King.

Formerly, in the kitchen of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King each day many hundred thousands of living creatures were slaughtered to make curries. But now, when this pious edict is being written, only three living creatures are slaughtered (daily) for curry, to wit, two peacocks and one antelope—the antelope, however, not invariably. Even those three living creatures henceforth shall not be slaughtered.'

Edict II.

Provision of Comforts for Men and Animals.

'Everywhere in the dominions of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King, as well as among his neighbours, such as the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputra, the Keralaputra, as far as Ceylon, Antiochos the Greek (Yona) king, or the kings bordering on the said Antiochos, everywhere has His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King made curative arrangements of two kinds—curative arrangements for men, and curative arrangements for beasts. Medicinal herbs also, wholesome for men and wholesome for beasts, wherever they were lacking, everywhere have been both imported and planted. Roots, too, and fruits, wherever they were lacking, have been both imported and planted.

On the roads both wells have been caused to be dug and trees caused to be planted for the enjoyment of man and beast.'

* For text and transliteration of these Edicts see Dr. Burgess's *Amarāvatī* (*Archl. Survey of Southern India*) 1887, pp. 114-31.

Edict III.

The Quinquennial Circuit.

'Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—when I had been consecrated twelve years I issued this command:—

Everywhere in my dominions the subordinate officials, and the Commissioner, and the District Officer, every five years must proceed on circuit, as well for their other business as for this special purpose, namely, to give instruction in the Law of Piety, to wit—"A meritorious thing is the hearkening to father and mother; a meritorious thing is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmans, and ascetics; a meritorious thing is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures; a meritorious thing is small expense and small accumulation."

Let the monastic communities also appoint officials for the reckoning, with regard to both the principle and specific instructions.'

Edict IV.

The Practice of Piety.

'For a long time past, even for many hundred years, have increased the (sacrificial) slaughter of living creatures, the killing of animate beings, unseemly behaviour to relatives, and unseemly behaviour to Brāhmans and ascetics.

But now, by reason of His Sacred Majesty the King's practice of piety, the reverberation of the war-drums—or rather, the reverberation of the Law of Piety—is heard, bringing with it the display to the people of processional cars, elephants, illuminations, and other heavenly spectacles.

As for many hundred years before has not happened, now at this present, by reason of His Sacred Majesty the King's instruction in the Law of Piety, have increased abstention from the killing of animate beings, seemly behaviour to relatives, seemly behaviour to Brāhmans and ascetics, hearkening to father and mother, and hearkening to elders.

Thus, and in many other ways, the practice of piety has increased, and His Sacred Majesty the King will cause such practice of piety to increase still more.

The sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of His Sacred Majesty the King will promote the increase in the practice of such piety until the end of the cycle, and abiding in piety and morality, will give instruction in the Law of Piety. For this is the best of deeds—even giving instruction in the Law of Piety—and the practice of piety is not for the immoral man. In this matter to increase and not to decrease, both are excellent.

For this very purpose has this been caused to be written in order that in this matter, men may strive for increase and not behold decrease.

This has been written by command of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King after he had been consecrated twelve years.'

Edict V.

Censors of the Law of Piety.

'Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

A good deed is a difficult thing. He who is the author of a good deed does a difficult thing. Now, by me many good deeds have been done.

Should my sons, grandsons, and my descendants after them until the end of the cycle follow in this path, they will do well; but in this matter, he who shall omit a part (of his duty) will do ill, because sin is an easy thing.

Now in all the long time past, officers known as Censors of the Law of Piety never had existed, whereas such Censors were created by me when I had been consecrated thirteen years.

Among people of all denominations they are employed in promoting the establishment of piety, the increase of piety, and the welfare and happiness of the subordinate officials of the Law of Piety, and of the Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, as well as other nations on my borders.

Among servants and masters, Brāhmans and rich, the needy, and the aged, they are employed in removing hindrances from the path of the subordinate officials of the Law of Piety.

They are employed in the prevention of wrongful imprisonment or chastisement, in removing hindrances, and in deliverance, considering cases where a man has a large family, has been smitten by calamity, or is advanced in years.

Here, at Pāṭaliputra, and in all the provincial towns, they are everywhere employed in supervising the female establishments of my brothers and sisters, as well as of other relatives.

These Censors are employed everywhere in my dominions among the subordinate officials of the Law with whatsoever concerns the Law of Piety, with watching over that Law, and with the administration of almsgiving.

For this purpose has this pious edict been written that it may long endure, and that my subjects may act accordingly.'

Edict VI.

The Prompt Dispatch of Business.

'Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—For a long time past it has not happened that business has been dispatched and that reports have been received at all hours. Now by me this arrangement has been made that at all hours and in all places—whether I am dining, or in the ladies' apartments, in my bedroom, or in my closet, in my (?) carriage, or in the palace gardens—the official Reporters should report to me on the people's business, and I am ready to do the people's business in all places.

And if, perchance, I personally by word of mouth command that a gift be made or an order executed, or anything urgent is entrusted to the superior officials, and in that business a dispute arises or a fraud occurs among the

monastic community, I have commanded that immediate report must be made to me at any hour and in any place, because I never feel full satisfaction in my efforts and dispatch of business. For the welfare of all folk is what I must work for—and the root of that, again, is in effort and the dispatch of business. And whatsoever exertions I make are for the end that I may discharge my debt to animate beings, and that while I make some happy here, they may in the next world gain heaven.

For this purpose, have I caused this pious edict to be written, that it may long endure, and that my sons and grandsons may exert themselves for the welfare of all folk. That, however, is a difficult thing save by the utmost exertion.'

EDICT VII.

Imperfect fulfilment of the law.

'His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King desires that in all places men of every denomination may abide, for they all desire mastery over the senses and purity of mind.

Man, however, is various in his wishes, and various in his likings.

Some of the denominations will perform the whole, others will perform but one part of the commandment. Even for a person to whom lavish liberality is impossible, the virtues of mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and steadfastness are altogether indispensable'.

EDICT VIII.

Pious tours.

'In times past Their Sacred Majesties used to go out on so-called "tours of pleasure," during which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.

His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King, however, after he had been consecrated ten years, went forth on the road to wisdom. Thus originated the "tours of piety" (*dharma*), wherein are practised the visiting of ascetics and Brāhmans, with liberality to them, the visiting of elders, with largess of gold, the visiting of the people of the country, with instruction in the Law of Piety and discussion of the Law of Piety.

Consequently, since that time these are the pleasures of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King in exchange for those of the past'.

EDICT IX.

True Ceremonial.

'Thus saith His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King:—

People perform various ceremonies on occasions of sickness, the weddings of sons, the weddings of daughters, the birth of children, and departure on

journeys. On these and other similar occasions people perform ceremonies. But at such times the womankind perform many, manifold, trivial and worthless ceremonies.

Ceremonies certainly have to be performed, although that sort bears little fruit. This sort, however—the ceremonial of piety—bears great fruit. In it are included proper treatment of slaves and servants, honour to teachers, gentleness towards living creatures, and liberality towards ascetics and Brāhmans. These things, and others of the same kind, are called the ceremonial of piety.

Therefore ought a father, son, brother, friend, or comrade, nay, even a daughter, to say, "This is meritorious, this is the ceremonial to be performed until the attainment of the desired end." How is that done? for the ceremonial of this world is of doubtful efficacy; perchance it may accomplish the desired end, perchance, on the other hand, it may not, and so it remains of no effect in this world.

The ceremonial of piety, on the contrary, is not temporal; for even if it fails to attain the desired end in this world, it certainly begets endless merit in the other world. If it happens to attain the desired end in this world, then a gain of two kinds is assured, namely, in this world the desired end, and in the other world the begetting of endless merit through the aforesaid ceremonial of piety.'

Edict X.

True Glory.

'His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King does not believe that glory or renown brings much profit unless in both the present and the future his people obediently hearken to the Law of Piety and conform to its precepts. For that purpose only does His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King desire glory or renown.

Whatsoever exertions His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King makes, all are for the sake of the life hereafter, so that everyone may be freed from peril, and that peril is vice.

Difficult, verily, it is to attain such freedom, whether by people of low or of high degree, save by the utmost exertion, giving up all other aims. That, however, for him of high degree is difficult.'

Edict XIV.

Epilogue.

'This set of edicts of the Law of Piety has been written by command of His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King in a form sometimes condensed, sometimes of medium length, and sometimes expanded; because everything is not suitable in every place for my dominions are extensive, and much has been written and much I shall cause to be written.

Certain phrases have been uttered again and again by reason of the honeyed sweetness of such and such a topic, in the hope that the people may act up to them.

It may be that something has been written incompletely by reason of mutilation of the order, or misunderstanding of the sense, or a blunder of the engraver.'

Special Edict I.

The Borderers' Edict.

The duties of officials to the border tribes.

'Thus saith His Sacred Majesty:—

At Samāpā the high officers are to be addressed in the King's words as follows:—

Whatsoever my views are I desire them to be acted on in practice and carried into effect by certain means. And in my opinion the chief means for attaining this purpose are my instructions to you.

"All men are my children"; and just as I desire for my children that they may enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness in both this world and the next, so also I desire the same for all men.

If you ask, "With regard to the unsubdued borderers what is the King's command to us?" or "What truth is it that I desire the borderers to grasp?" —the answer is that the king desires that "They should not be afraid of me, that they should trust me, and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow." Moreover, they should grasp the truth that "The King will bear patiently with us, so far as it is possible to bear with us," and that "For my sake they should follow the Law of Piety and so gain both this world and the next."

And for this purpose I give you instructions. In this way I am discharged of my debt when I have instructed you and intimated my will, my inflexible resolve and promise.

Now you, acting accordingly, must do your work, and must make these people trust me and grasp the truth that—"The King is to us even as a father; he loves us even as he loves himself; we are to the King even as his children."

By instructing you and intimating my will, my inflexible resolve and promise, I shall have (trained) local officials for this business, because you are in a position to make these people trust me and to ensure their prosperity and happiness in both this world and the next, and by so doing you can both win heaven and discharge your debt to me. And for this purpose has this edict been here inscribed in order that the officers may strive without ceasing to secure the trust of these borderers, and set them moving on the path of piety.

And this edict must be recited at the beginning of each season of four months, on the Tishya day, and, as occasion offers, it may be recited on a

Tishya day in the intervals, even to a single hearer. Endeavour by acting thus to fulfil my behests.'

Special Edict II.

The Provincials' Edict.

The duties of officials to the Provincials.

'By command of His Sacred Majesty:—

At Tosāli the high officers in charge of the town are to be addressed as follows:—

Whatsoever my views are I desire them to be acted on in practice and carried into effect by certain means. And in my opinion the chief means for attaining this purpose are my instructions to you, because you have been set over many thousands of living beings that you may gain the affection of good men.

"All men are my children," and just as I desire for my children that they enjoy every kind of prosperity and happiness in both this world and the next, so also I desire the same for all men.

You, however, do not grasp this truth to its full extent. Some individual, perchance, pays heed, but to a part only, not the whole. See then to this, for the principle is well established.

Again, it happens that some individual incurs imprisonment or other ill-usage, and when he ends in imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved. In such a case you must desire to do justice.

However, with certain natural dispositions, success is impossible, to wit, envy, lack of perseverance, harshness, impatience, want of application, laziness, indolence. You must desire that such dispositions be not yours. The root of the whole matter lies in perseverance and patience in applying the principle. The indolent man cannot rouse himself to move, but one must needs move, advance, go on.

In the same way you must see to your duty, and be told to remember:—"See to my commands; such and such are the instructions of His Sacred Majesty." Fulfilment of these bears great fruit, non-fulfilment brings great calamity. By those who fail neither heaven nor the royal favour can be won. Ill performance of this duty can never gain my regard, whereas in fulfilling my instructions you will win heaven, and also pay your debt to me.

This edict must be recited every Tishya constellation day, and at intervals, on fit occasion, it may be recited even to a single hearer. By such action you must endeavour to fulfil my intentions.

For this purpose has this edict been here inscribed in order that the administrators of the town may strive without ceasing to prevent the imprisonment or ill-usage of the townsmen without due cause.

And for this purpose, in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth on circuit every five years such officers as are of mild and temperate

disposition, regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this purpose will act in accordance with my instructions.

From Ujjain the Prince will send forth people of a similar class for the same purpose, but will not overpass the limit of three years.

The same order applies to Taxila. When the officers aforesaid proceed on circuit, then, without neglecting their own ordinary business, they will attend to this matter also, and act in accordance with the king's instructions.'

The reason why Edicts XI, XII and XIII have been excluded from the Dhaulī version is probably to be found in the statement in Edict XIV, that "This set of edicts of the Law of Piety has been written . . . . in a form sometimes condensed, sometimes of medium length, and sometimes expanded, because everything is not suitable in every place, for my dominions are extensive." Now Edict XIII refers to the conquest of Kaliṅga and the terrible massacres in that war; and such an edict may well not have been considered suitable for the conquered territory itself. As regards the two other missing edicts, Edict XI defines *dhamma* (The Law of Piety), and Edict XII declares the king's reverence for all sects, defines toleration, and speaks of the appointment of censors; but as the appointment of these censors had already been notified in Edict V, the king's toleration in Edict VII, and *dhamma* had been defined in Edict III, it is probable that the Edicts XI, XII and XIII were omitted, partly with a view to condensation, and partly out of political considerations.

The two Special Edicts are addressed to the officers in charge of the country. The numerous aboriginal tribes on the Kaliṅga border required special treatment: the territory had been only recently subdued; and the king's officers had to be specially charged to stop torture, unwarranted imprisonment or acts of violence, and at the same time not to be indolent in the discharge of their duties.

The edicts are addressed to the general public as well as to the king's officers, and must have been inscribed close to a big town on or near a public highway. This town was presumably Tosali, to the officers in charge of which the Special Edicts are addressed. No traces of this town have yet been discovered; but it may possibly have been situated between the Dhaulī hills and the junction of the Koyākhāi, Gaṅguā and Dāyā streams, on the highway from Khaṇḍagiri to Bhuvaneśvara. Tosali must have been a large town and the capital of the surrounding country; for it was the seat of the eastern viceroyalty and was in the charge of a prince.

The date of the inscription can only be approximately ascertained. Edicts II and XIII mention the Hellenistic kings of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus, *viz.* Antiochos Theos, Ptolemy Philadelphos, Magas, Antigonos Gonatas, and Alexander, who were all contemporary and were alive in 258 B.C. The latest event recorded in the edicts is the establishment of religious censors in the fourteenth year after Aśoka's coronation (*i.e.* 256 B.C.: General Edict

V); so it would seem that these General Edicts could not have been inscribed earlier than 256 B.C. Of the Special Edicts, Edict II or the Borderers' Edict, is said by Mr. Vincent Smith to be contemporaneous with the General Edicts, and Edict I or the 'Provincials' Edict is placed two years later.

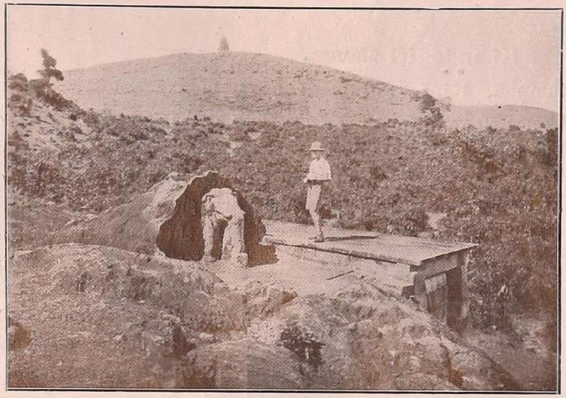

Fig. 140.—Rock-cut elephant above the Aśoka inscription, Dhaulī.

Immediately above the inscription is a terrace measuring 10 ft. by 9 ft., on the west side of which is the forepart of a well modelled elephant in the round, about 4 feet high, hewn out of the solid rock. The figure probably belongs to the same age as the inscription and, as such, is one of the oldest carvings in India. A small groove runs round three sides of the terrace leaving a space $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide immediately in front of the elephant; while two other grooves are cut in the floor on either side of it, and rise up the perpendicular face of the rock behind. These grooves were probably intended to support a wooden canopy. The groove on the north side of the terrace has been covered up by the masonry of the shed protecting the inscription. Originally an emblem of Gautama Buddha, the elephant has become an object of general worship during the last 60 years. At the time of Mr. Kittoe's visit (1838), it is said to have been worshipped only once a year; but now it is held in great veneration; and among the neighbouring villagers the most solemn form of oath is to swear by Dhauleśvarī Mātā, *i.e.* the tutelary goddess of this spot.

There are a few broken caverns both natural and artificial in the rocks adjoining the Aśvatthāmā. The northern ridge also contains a number of similar caves, and over the entrance of one of them is cut a small Gupta inscription in three lines. At the summit of the northern hill are the remains of a temple with plain but bold mouldings. Lower down, between the western extremities of the two ridges, is a small temple of laterite dedicated to Śiva.

East of the hills is a large tank named Kauśalyā Gaṅg, in the middle of which is an island containing the remains of a palace. The tank is about a mile and a half long and five furlongs wide. It was apparently connected with the Dāyā river by a canal at the north-west corner. According to the Puri Temple Records (written on palm leaves and preserved in the Jagannātha temple) the tank was dug by Gaṅgeśvaradeva, in expiation of his sin of committing incest with his beautiful daughter Kauśalyā.

(*g*) Aśoka's Rock Edicts I-X and XIV, and Special Edicts I and II given above; (*h*) Good. The inscription is protected by a stone shelter on four pillars; (*j*) L.A.M.B., 532; J.A.S.B., (1838), 219 ff. 434-56; C.S.R., XIII, 95-96; S.A.B., XVIII, 180-81, XIX, 77-8; Smith's Aśoka, 155-68, 172-81; Smith, Edicts, 6-16 and 21-26; Hunter's Orissa, I, 191-196; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 245-250; I.A., XIX, 82-102; (*k*) 1963-1964.

Khaṇḍagiri Caves.

No. 91.—(*a*) Rānī Gumphā, Rānī Haṅsaparā or Rānī Navarā.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, some 50 yards from the Jaina Maṭh at the foot of the hill; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia;. (*e*) About second century B.C.

(*f*) From the Jaina Maṭh at the foot of the Udayagiri Hill, a flight of steps leads to a group of small caves among which are situated the Chhotā Hāthī and the Jaya Vijaya Caves. Leaving these on the left, and proceeding some 30 yards further east, we reach a large two-storey-ed excavation known as the Rānī Gumphā and also called the Rānī Navarā or Queen's Palace. It is the largest and the most richly carved of all the caves at Khaṇḍagiri, and contains a two-storey-ed monastery occupying three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth or south-eastern side being open. In the lower storey are (1) a main gallery with three rooms facing south-east and one facing south-west; (2) a left wing with one room on each side except the north-east; and (3) a right wing with one room facing south-west. The upper range of rooms is placed not immediately over the lower rooms, but on the rocky mass behind, and contains (1) a main gallery with four rooms, (2) a right wing with one room and (3) a left wing with a closed verandah leading to a small chamber to left. In front of the rooms are verandahs presenting four special features:—1st, at each end there is a *dvārapāla* or door-keeper carved in high relief; 2nd, a ledge of dressed rock forming a continuous bench runs along the front of the rooms and the side walls of the verandahs; 3rd, shelves are provided in the side walls of three out of the five verandahs; and 4th, the ceilings of the verandahs, which are but 7 feet high, are all supported on stout tapering pillars, square below and at the top, and octagonal in the middle, with that peculiar chamfering of the corners at the transition which is only seen in Early Indian work.

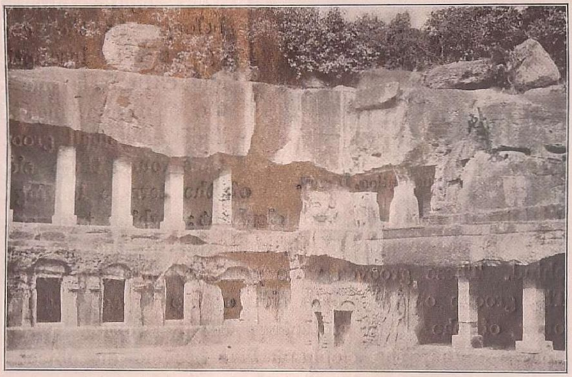

FIG. 141.—Rānī Gumphā, Khaṇḍagiri.

Access to the rooms is obtained through small doorways, of which there are from one to three according to the size of the room; each doorway having a groove cut all round its stone frame probably to take a *jhāñp* or bamboo shutter. As with most of the old caves of India, the doorways have sloping jambs, making the entrances wider at the base than at the top. In the upper right and the lower left wings the sides of the doorways are plain, but elsewhere they have side pilasters from which springs an ornamental arch framing the tympanum or plain semi-circular space above. Two winged animals set back to back form a capital on the pilasters, and above them the springing of the arch is also ornamented at each side with the figure of an animal. The arches are decorated with flowers, foliage and fruit, and in one instance with monkeys and other animals. They are generally surmounted either by *triśūlas* or shield symbols; but in one case a snake appears in this portion. At the springing the arches are joined to each other by a flat band carved with representations of a balustrade or railing supported on male or female figures serving as brackets; above which, in the compartments thus formed, are carved some very interesting bas-reliefs. The chambers are 3 ft. 5 ins. to 4 ft. 9 ins. high and vary in length from 10½ ft. to 21 ft. 9 ins. They are plain inside with low flat ceilings, and the floor is raised at the inner end and shaped to the form of continuous pillows, evidently to serve as the monks' beds.

Lower storey.—The quadrangle in front of the cave measures 49 feet by 43 feet and is hewn from the natural rock, dressed with a gentle slope towards the open side.

The right-hand wing of the lower storey consists of a single room with a verandah in front. One of the sculptured guards at the end of this verandah is almost obliterated; the other on the left hand is still in a fair state of preservation with the exception of the head, and stands erect 5 ft. 3 ins. high. The image wears a short *dhotī*, of which the falling ends are held in the left hand, and carries a spear in the right hand, while a *kukrī* is suspended from its left side. The verandah, which is about 20 feet long by 7 feet broad and 6 ft. 6 ins. high, was supported on two pillars *in antæ;* but with the exception of the square capitals, the pillars have disappeared and are now replaced by new ones. Just below the capitals the upper portions of the *antæ* are carved in the form of vases. The capitals of the *antæ* are relieved with one animal on each of the three faces; those of the pillars having two animals on the front and back, and one on each of the other faces. Beginning from the left, these animals take the form of horses, bulls, lions, and elephants.

The room beyond the verandah has three doorways and measures about 20 ft. by 6 ft. 9 ins. The sculptures over the doorways are contained in two full and two half spandrils between the arches, and are all perfectly preserved. In the half spandril on the left a man and a woman are seen approaching the centre of the panel with their hands joined in the attitude of prayer. Behind them is a dwarf, and before them a woman carrying offerings. In the corresponding spandril at the other end are seen a man and a woman in front, with another woman and a boy behind them, the woman carrying offerings

and the man and boy standing in devotional attitude. In the complete spandril on the left, is a man with two women seated on a bench on each side of him, with their hands folded in an attitude of devotion. A female figure in front is carrying offerings. The other full spandril portrays a pavilion or canopy borne on four pillars, under which a woman is dancing with outstretched hands to music played on the drum, tabour, harp and flute by four female musicians. The whole frieze apparently represents several parties of devotees on their way to worship some sacred object.

Lower storey; left wing.—The verandah of the left wing measures about 23 ft. long by 12 ft. 3 ins. wide. The pillars supporting its roof are all new and the guards carved on the terminal piers are much mutilated and weatherworn. The verandah opens into three rooms on its three sides. The front room is entered through three doors. It is not truly rectangular in plan, measuring 21 ft. 9 ins. along the front wall and 20 feet along the back, and is 6 ft. 8 ins. in depth. The room on the west or right hand measures 10 ft. 4 ins. by 6 ft. 6 ins. and that on the left hand 13 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. 6 ins. Unlike the caves mentioned above, there are no shelves in the verandah and no carvings over the doorways.

Lower storey; main wing.—The verandah of the main wing, which measures 43 ft. 5 ins. by about 11 ft., and was supported on six pillars, has completely disappeared, having collapsed at an early date in some natural calamity. In place of the usual sculptured guards, there were small sentry boxes (2 ft. 4 ins. by 1 ft. 10 ins. and 2 ft. 2 ins. by 2 ft. in plan) at each end of this verandah, which have escaped destruction. The room on the right hand has two doors, that on the left only one. The carving on the front and on the inner faces of these rooms depicts hill scenery with caves containing wild beasts, elephants in lotus-ponds or walking under lofty trees laden with fruit and flowers, monkeys—or rather long-tailed men and women—and birds enjoying their freedom, etc., etc.

Beyond the verandah are three rooms facing south-east (the central one being larger than the side ones) and an oblong chamber, measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 7 ft., to right (facing S.W.). The central room in the north-west range has three doors and the lateral ones two doors each, all the seven doors being ornamented, like those in the right wing, with a continuous frieze of bas-reliefs extending the whole length of the wall over the doorways. Unfortunately, owing to the fall of the verandah roof, this frieze has suffered much from exposure to the weather, including the full force of the south-eastern wind. Beginning from the left, the first spandril-compartment portrays a mango tree and a double-storeyed house with two doors in the lower storey and one in the upper. One male and three female figures are looking out from the doors and from the verandah in the upper storey. The second compartment is almost entirely effaced; but in the third the busts and heads of several figures may still be discerned, one of which holds an umbrella. The fourth scene is also mutilated, but several figures are visible, one carrying a sword, and two or three riding an elephant. In the fifth relief seven figures can with difficulty be made out, one holding an umbrella over the principal figure in the centre and two bowing to him with folded hands. In the sixth relief two figures are just deci-

pherable, one holding an umbrella over the other in the centre. In the seventh scene five figures are traceable, of whom one stands with folded hands, and in the right hand corner of the relief is a tree. The eighth compartment shows a prince or saint followed by two attendants, one holding an umbrella over his head and the other standing with folded hands. The right half of the relief portrays two kneeling figures in front doing obeisance to the saint and two women in the background carrying offerings. Both the kneeling figures have their hands joined and stretched towards the ground as if in the act of taking up dust, and one of them is apparently being assisted to rise by a (?) boy whose left hand is resting on the head of the aged devotee.

After this come two scenes on the side doorway, the left hand one depicting a caparisoned horse and three male figures standing in devotional attitudes, the right hand compartment containing four figures, of whom one is sheltered beneath an umbrella and followed by two guards bearing straight swords on their shoulders. The last scene on the right shows six female figures, three standing with pitchers on their heads, a fourth bowing with folded hands and two others kneeling in front, one of the kneeling figures holding an offering.

The bas-reliefs, though mostly mutilated, clearly indicate the procession of a saint through a town. In this hill Pārśvanātha appears to be the most honoured of the *Tīrthaṅkaras*, and it may therefore be presumed that the scenes are in some way connected with him or with a revered disciple of his.

Upper storey.—Access to the upper storey was evidently gained by a flight of steps south-east of the right wing. The main wing of the upper storey contains four large cells ranging from 13 ft. 9 ins. to 15 ft. 5 ins. in length by about 7 ft. wide and 4 ft. high. The verandah outside is 62 ft. 7 ins. long by 11 ft. 3 ins. wide and 7 ft. in height. Each cell has two doors and in the spaces between the eight doorways is carved a most interesting frieze about 60 feet long divided into nine compartments. The first and the ninth compartment each contain a running *Vidyādhara* wearing an elaborate turban, necklace, *dhotī* and scarf, and carrying a tray of offerings (probably flowers) in the left outstretched hand, and lotus flowers and buds or rolls of garlands in the right hand. These figures evidently mark the beginning and the end of the story portrayed in the frieze.

The second compartment from left portrays what seems to be an elephant hunt. From the hills at the left end, represented by triangles, appear three elephants one of which is shown facing front with trunk upraised. In front of the elephants are several standing figures, *viz.* a woman holding the noose of a rope uplifted in her right hand, a stout man with a heavy bludgeon held in both hands and raised over his head, another woman holding the left hand of the first, and a third woman behind with a lasso of rope held in her uplifted hands apparently to throw at the elephants; while in front of the second standing woman is another with her hands placed on the head

of an young elephant which has already been captured. In the District Gazetteer account, this young elephant is described as a dog, but that is clearly a mistake. The animal is facing right. Beyond this party, in the background, are three women with their arms entwined round each other's neck; while in front a lady is dragging a prostrate boy along the ground. The scene closes with a tree (probably an *Aśoka* tree) having elongated leaves, and a *Brahmany* goose in the upper right corner of the sculpture.

The third scene, which may be described as the abduction scene, begins with a cave or hut, in front of which is seated a man reclining, as if in pain or sorrow, against a lady whose right hand is placed on the man's right shoulder, while in her left she holds the left wrist of her male companion. Beyond this pair, to right, is seen another woman grasping the right arm of a man wearing a *dhotī* and carrying a straight sword in his right hand and a damaged shield in his left. The right hand of the lady is raised apparently to restrain the man, and they are obviously advancing towards the hut. In the right half of the compartment, which is separated from the left half by a mango tree, is depicted a mortal combat between a man and a woman, both armed with swords of different shapes and curiously formed oblong shields. The scene ends with the lady being carried off bodily by the man, her shield still in the left hand, and her right hand outstretched with the index figure pointing to some object. The triangular spaces in the upper corners of the compartment are occupied by a pair of tigers to right, and a couple of monkeys, seemingly in terror of a snake, in a cave portrayed to left.

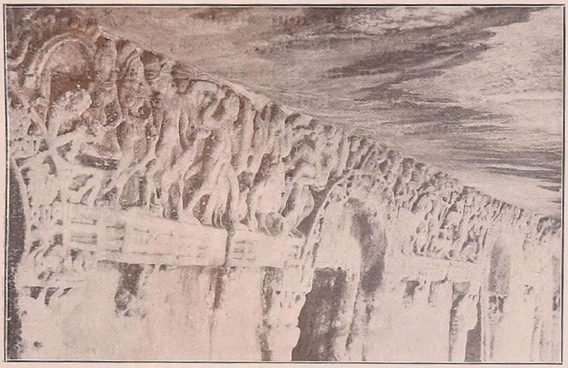

FIG. 142.—Rānī Gumphā; sculptured frieze in upper verandah, 3rd and 4th compartments.

The fourth scene, which may be called the hunting scene, shows a caparisoned horse with four attendants, one carrying water in a vase which is suspended from a club carried over his left shoulder, another with a straight sword, a third holding a fly-whisk in his right hand and an umbrella in the left, and the fourth, who is the groom, stands in front of the horse. In the centre of the compartment is a prince standing with a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right. He wears an elaborate bejewelled head-dress, a long necklace and heavy ear-rings, and a sword in scabbard is hanging from his left side. He is evidently aiming the arrow at a long-horned winged deer (below which is a winged doe and a fawn), but the string of his

bow is not drawn and the arrow is held like a javelin. A flowering tree between the Rājā and the deer indicates a forest. The scene closes with the prince standing with his reversed bow in the left hand and talking to a lady seated in the fork of an *Aśoka* tree under which is lying the winged deer he has killed. In the upper corner of the compartment are a peacock to left and a fox or jackal to right. The arch between these two compartments is decorated with monkeys and other animals, and surmounted by the figure of a snake contained in a triangle.

The fifth scene, which is partly damaged, represents a musical festival. Here, on the left-hand side, a lady is seated on a bench or platform; behind her, to left, are three female figures, one bearing refreshments in a vase resembling a relic-casket in shape, another waving a *chaurī*, and the third holding an umbrella over the lady. In the fore-ground, below the throne, appears the bust of an attendant with a dish or bowl in his uplifted right hand. To right of the principal lady stand two more women, one bearing garlands in a tray, the other waving a *chaurī*. In the centre of the relief are the remains of six figures, three in the fore-ground seated and playing on musical instruments, and two in the back-ground dancing, the third dancing figure having disappeared. At the right end of the compartment is portrayed a male figure seated on a raised bench with his right leg crossed over the left and his right hand raised against the breast. On the ground in front of the bench is a vase containing water or refreshments; and an (?) attendant is seated near by with hands folded in an attitude of devotion. The sixth scene is entirely obliterated. The seventh, much mutilated, seems to represent an amorous scene between a man and a woman, the same figures being repeated three times. The first group shows the pair seated on a couch, with their arms entwined round each other's waists. In the second group the woman is seated on the man's left knee, and there is a table of refreshments before them. The third shows the couple seated on the ground. The man's back is turned towards the woman, and he is apparently trying to get away from her, while she seeks to restrain him. Between the second and third group is a tree.

The eighth scene, now largely broken, reveals the outlines of some elephants, with the legs of two human figures on each side.

Various explanations have been given of these scenes, two of which also appear in the Gaṇeśa cave. By analogy with the other two friezes in the lower storey, and from the circumstance of the *Vidyādharas* marking the beginning and end, it would seem that these bas-reliefs were carved with the intention of representing a connected story. If so, the story would relate to some *Tīrthaṅkara* or Jaina saint, probably to Pārśvanātha, who appears to be the most favoured personality sculptured in these caves. Unfortunately, very little is known of the legendary life of Pārśvanātha. According to the *Pārśvanatha-Charita of Bhavadeva Sūrī*, a mediæval work of the 13th century, Pārśvanātha was the son of the king of Benares. During his youth the town of Kuśasthala (Kanauj) was besieged by the *Yavana* king of Kalinga with

a view to the forcible abduction of its beautiful princess, Prabhāvatī. It was relieved by Pārśva, who drove away the *Yavana*, and as a reward was given the princess in marriage. Subsequently Pārśva one day saw on a wall of the palace a picture of Neminātha engaged in ascetic practices, and, reflecting that Neminātha had taken the vow in early life, he also decided to abandon the world forthwith and became an ascetic. In the course of his preaching, he visited Pauṇḍra, Tāmralipta and Nāgapurī, where many became his disciples and finally he attained *nirvāṇa* on Mount Sametaśikhara, which has been identified with the modern *Pārśvanātha* hill. The *Kalpasutra* of about the fifth century A.D. contains no reference to the seige and relief of Kuśasthala or to the names of places visited by Pārśva, but otherwise, so far as it goes, agrees with this mediæval account.

The mediæval Jaina legends thus connect Pārśva with Eastern India including Kaliṅga. May we presume then that the reliefs on the Rānī Gumphā depict the episode of Pārśvanātha's marriage and renunciation? If so, the elephant scene would be associated with Orissa, the country of the Rājā of Kaliṅga who, in the next scene, abducts the princess Prabhāvatī; in the fourth scene the princess is rescued by Pārśvanātha while hunting in a forest; the following scene depicts the wedding feast; the seventh the consummation of marriage; and the eighth a march with elephants. Similarly, the frieze in the lower wing may represent Pārśvanātha as a *Tīrthaṅkara*, his wanderings, and the honours shown him; for it is but natural that Jainas should have carved episodes in the life of their venerable saint on their caves. The exact interpretation of these sculptures has however yet to be settled.

As regards the style and technique of the various friezes on these caves Sir John Marshall's remarks on them in the *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 640-2, may be quoted: "In both storeys", he says, "the façades of the cells are enriched with pilasters and highly ornate friezes illustrating episodes connected with the Jaina religion, of which unfortunately the interpretation has not yet been established. The friezes resemble each other closely, so far as their general treatment is concerned, but the style of the sculptures in the two storeys is widely different. In the upper the composition is relatively free, each group forming a coherent whole, in which the relation of the various figures to one another is well expressed; the figures themselves are posed in natural attitudes; their movement is vigorous and convincing; and from a plastic and anatomical point of view the modelling is tolerably correct. In the lower, on the other hand, the reliefs are distinctly elementary and crude. The best of them, perhaps, is the group reproduced in plate XXVII, 77 (group depicted in the left-hand compartment of the side room to right) but even here the figures are composed almost as independent units, connected only by their tactile contiguity; their postures, too, are rigid and formal, particularly as regards the head and torso, which are turned almost direct to the spectator, and in other respects the work is stiff and schematic. At first sight, it might appear that in proportion as these carvings are more primitive-looking, so they are anterior to those of the upper

storey; but examined more closely they betray traces here and there of comparatively mature art, which suggest that their defects are due rather to the clumsiness and inexperience of the particular sculptors responsible for them than to the primitive character of plastic art at the time when they were produced. Accordingly it seems probable that in this cave, as in the Mañchapurī, the upper of the two floors was the first to be excavated, though the interval of time between the two was not necessarily a long one; and there is good reason, also, to suppose that the marked stylistic difference between the sculptures of the two storeys was the result of influence exercised directly or indirectly by the contemporary schools of Central and North-Western India. In this connexion a special significance attaches to the presence in the upper storey of a door-keeper garbed in the dress of a Yavana warrior, and of a lion and rider near by treated in a distinctively Western-Asiatic manner, while the guardian door-keepers of the lower storey are as characteristically Indian as their workmanship is immature. It is significant, too, that various points of resemblance are to be traced between the sculptures of the upper floor and the Jain reliefs of Mathurā, where, as we have already seen, the artistic traditions of the North-West were at this time obtaining a strong foothold. The pity is that the example of these outside schools made only a superficial and impermanent impression in Orissa—a fact which becomes clear if we consider some of the other caves on this site. In the Ganesh Gumphā, for example, which is a small excavation containing only two cells, the reliefs of the frieze are closely analogous in style and subject, but, at the same time, slightly inferior to those in the upper verandah of the Rānī Gumphā. Then, in the Jayavijaya, we see the style rapidly losing its animation, and in the Alakapurī cave, which is still later, the execution has become still more coarse and the figures as devoid of expression as anything which has survived from the Early School. The truth appears to be that the art of Orissa, unlike the art of Central or Western India possessed little independent vitality, and flourished only so long as it was stimulated by other schools, but became retrograde the moment that that inspiration was withdrawn."

Out of the nine pillars which supported the verandah of the main gallery in the upper storey of the Rānī Gumphā only two are now extant. They indeed are badly mutilated; though it is still apparent that they tapered upward, and were square at the base and top and octagonal in the middle, with chamfered angles at the junction characteristic of Early Indian work. They had no capitals, but at the front and back of the pillars were brackets carved with human figures and flowers, etc.

The place of the usual *dvārapālas* has been taken in this verandah by two figures riding on animals. They are shown in profile and facing each other, The figure on the right is generally described as a woman, and local legend names it Ambā or Durgā; but the figure is undoubtedly that of a stout man. He is riding astride a lion or tiger, which is badly damaged. The guard on the left side is seated astride on a bull, but whether the figure was

of a man or a woman it is impossible to say, as practically nothing now remains of it.

The sculptured guards in the right wing are in a better condition. The one on the right hand is 4 ft. 7 ins. high and wears a turban and *dhotī*, the latter tucked up in front; and a sword is hanging from his left side. The other guard on the left is of unusual interest. It is 4 ft. 4 ins. high and wears a turban, a scarf, a short heavy tunic held in by a waist-band and reaching below the knees, and boots or hose up the calf of the legs; and a sword hangs from the left side.

The verandah of the right wing measures 10 ft. 6 ins. by 9 ft. 9 ins. and opens into a single room, with two doorways, measuring 11 ft. by 7 ft. 4 ins. There are no carvings. The single pillar of the verandah is still extant, but it bears no capital or brackets.

To south-east of the right wing of the upper storey is a low platform, at either end of which were small lions carved in high relief, but traces of only one figure on the left remain.

The left wing consists of a closed verandah measuring 7 ft. 2 ins. by 5 ft. 6 ins. leading to an inner chamber to left about 8 ft. by 7 ft., with a window in the northern wall. There are no carvings anywhere in this wing.

The verandah roofs of the lower storey serve as open terraces in front of the verandahs above.

The chamber, verandah, and the terraces in front of the caves were all provided with channels for the drainage of rain water from them.

(*g*) There are two uncertain letters on the floor of the lower verandah which may read as *ti chhi*; (*h*) Fair; (*j*) L.A.M.B., 492-500; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 77-86, 89-91; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 251-56; Bloomfield, Parsvanath, 110-114; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 13-15; S.A.B. XVIII, 180; S.A.B. XIX, 74-76; C.S.R., XIII, 91; Cambridge History, I, 640-42; (*k*) 378, 379, 1966-68, 543-53, 1468-69 and 2276.

No. 92.—(*a*) The Bājāghar or Musician's cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill midway between the Rānī Gumphā (No. 91) and the Jaina Maṭh; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain; but possibly about 1st century B.C.

(*f*) From the road near the Jaina Maṭh a flight of steps leads to the Jaya-Vijaya cave. Between the Rānī Gumphā and the Jaya-Vijaya cave are situated, beginning from the right, the Bājāghar or Musician's cave, a cave with an elephant frieze called the Chhoṭā Hāthī, the Alakāpurī cave, a small cave to right of the upper storey of the Alakāpurī, and a small cell under the Jaya-Vijaya.

The Musician's cave consists of two separate cells each with a verandah in front facing south. The cell on the right hand measures about 10 ft. by 7½ ft. and 6 ft. 4 ins. high. Originally it was entered through two doorways, but the front pier between the doors is now broken. The verandah, 10 ft. long by 6 ft. 6 ins. wide is supported on two new pillars, though originally there was only one in this position. The pilaster on the right hand is carved with an elephant

near the top; and the peculiar brackets supporting the short concave *chajja* are noteworthy.

The other cell on the left hand measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft., with a verandah 9 ft. 2 ins. long by 6 ft. 6 ins. wide, and is supported on a single pillar adorned with winged animals in low relief. This cell has also two doorways, but the central pier between the doors is damaged. There are no benches or shelves in this cave. The cells here have high arched roofs, a feature possibly indicative of a slightly later date than the Rānī Gumphā and other similar caves.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 256; (*k*) 2277.

No. 93.—(*a*) The Chhoṭā Hāthī or "Small Elephant" cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill, to left of the Bājāghar (No. 92) and at a slightly higher level; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Early.

(*f*) The Chhoṭā Hāthī is a small cell measuring 6 ft. 5 ins. by 5 ft. 2 ins. and 4 ins. high, with one door facing south-west. Fergusson, in his "Cave Temples," describes it under the name of Svargapurī. The cell has a handsome façade, but was apparently never provided with a verandah. Over the doorway, which is of the ordinary type, is an arch springing from the side pilasters, and on either side of it is an elephant frieze, from which the cave evidently derives its name. On the right-hand side three elephants are seen approaching from a forest represented by a single well-carved tree, one of the elephants carrying the branch of a tree in his upraised trunk. A similar relief existed on the left side, which is badly broken; but there was no tree. Below the frieze is carved a balustrade or railing and the arch form is decorated with flowers. The pilasters flanking the doorway are much damaged.

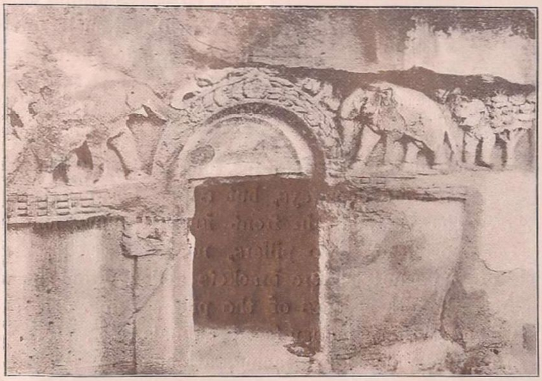

Fig. 143.—Chhotā Hāthī Gumphā, Khandagiri.

Above the Chhoṭā Hāthī, and recessed back from it, is a small cave consisting of a low cell measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by about 5 ft., with a single doorway and a closed verandah in front furnished with a bench but no shelf. The cell faces south-west but the verandah, which is 7 ft. long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, faces the north-west.

(*g*) Inscription:—*Agikha* (?) . . . . *Sa lenam.*

Translation:—The cave of . . . .

(*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 256; E.I., XIII, 164; (*k*) 2277.

No. 94.—(*a*) The Alakāpurī cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill, to left of the Chhoṭā Hāthī; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Early but later than the Rānī Gumphā.

(*f*) To left of the Chhoṭā Hāthī is a two-storeyed excavation called the Alakāpurī cave, consisting of a single oblong room in each storey. The lower room measures 21ft. by 7ft. and had three doors originally; but the front wall between the doors having fallen away, two new pillars have been constructed to support the roof. The verandah, which is 8ft. wide, has also disappeared together with its pillars, etc., so that nothing but a bench with a shelf above it and a side pilaster now exists on the left side. The pilaster here is relieved with winged animals near the top.

FIG. 144.—Jaya-Vijaya, Alakāpurī and Khaṛāmghar caves, Khaṇḍagiri.

The room in the upper storey measures 21 ft. 9 ins. long by 7 ft. 2 ins. wide and 6 ft. 5 ins. high. It had three wide doorways, but a pier between two of the doorways is broken away. The verandah in front is 21ft. 9ins. long by about 8 feet wide, and was supported on two pillars, now replaced by new ones. At the front and back of the capitals were brackets hollowed out in the middle and carved with figures, the other faces of the pillars being decorated also, with figures of lions, winged horses, human-faced animals, etc., etc. The only surviving bracket portrays an elephant-king, facing, attended by two other elephants, one holding an umbrella over him and the other fanning him with a fly-whisk. The inner faces of the capitals of the *antæ* are also carved. That on the right displays a large snake entwined round the body and legs of an elephant, which seems to be quite powerless to free itself, the tail of the snake being also encircled round the trunk of a tree behind it. The relief on the left-hand pilaster shows a man and a woman feeding an elephant. The doorways of the cells of the Alakapurī are much higher and wider than those seen in the other caves.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Fergusson, Cave Temples, 76-77; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 256; Cambridge History, I, 641; (*k*) 2278.

No. 95.—(*a*) The Jaya-Vijaya cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill, to left of the Alakāpurī; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) From the style and technique of the sculptures on its façade, the cave may be ascribed to a slightly later date than the Rānī Gumphā.

(*f*) The Jaya-Vijaya is approached by a long flight of steps on the south-west, and consists of two rooms with a verandah and terrace in front. The verandah (which is 13 ft. long by 8 ft. wide) has a male guard on the left and a female on the right, both much damaged and apparently carved at a later date. On the lady's right hand, raised to the shoulder, is perched a parrot, and above her is a small *Yakshī* holding on to the branch of a tree. The cell to right measures 6 ft. 8 ins. by 6 ft. 2 ins. and 4 ft. 6 ins. high; that to left is 6 ft. 9 ins. square and 4 ft. 9 ins. high. They have one door each, and over the two doorways are arches joined as usual at the springing by railings and leaving a complete spandril in the middle and two half ones at the ends, which are filled with sculptures. Those at the ends each contain a fat (?) *Yaksha* carrying a tray of offerings in one hand and lotus stalks in bud and flower in the other. The central spandril shows in the centre a holy tree (? banyan) enclosed within a square railing. It is surmounted by an umbrella decorated with streamers, and is being worshipped by a male and a female figure on each side, the women bearing trays of offerings, the men standing with folded hands. The arches are relieved with flowers or undulating floral designs issuing from the mouths of *Makaras*. The capitals of the pilasters, now much damaged, were carved with pairs of winged animals, set back to back. Below the terrace in front of the Jaya-Vijaya is a plain cell measuring 9 ft. by 7 ft. with one wide door to south-west. This cell is described by Fergusson as forming the lower storey of the Jaya-Vijaya and by Mr. O'Malley in the District Gazetteer as part of the lower storey of the Alakāpurī. Now-a-days, it is known as the *Khaṛāon* or *Khaṛām* (wooden-shoe) cave, from the circumstance that the wooden shoes of some 25 *sādhus* of the local *maṭha* were kept in this cave as relics, and were removed only recently when the cave was declared a "protected" monument. Considering the size and the position of the cave, it seems more likely that it formed the lower storey of the Jaya-Vijaya than that of the Alakāpurī cave.

Over the Jaya-Vijaya is an open cave (10 ft. 10 ins. by 6 ft. 9 ins.). The verandah, which was supported on three circular pillars of laterite, has fallen away.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Fergusson, Cave Temples, 76-77; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 15; L.A.M.B., 502; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 257; Cambridge History, I, 641; (*k*) 2278.

No. 96.—(*a*) The Panasa or 'Jack-fruit' cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill between the Jaya-Vijaya and the Mañchapurī caves; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain; but evidently later than the Jaya-Vijaya.

(*f*) In the semicircle between Jaya-Vijaya and Mañchapurī are situated, (1) two open caves called *Ṭhakurānī*, one measuring 9 ft. by 7 ft. the other 22 ft. by 7 ft., (2) the Panasa or 'Jack-fruit' cave, and (3) the Pātālapurī or Hell-house cave. The Panasa cave, so-called after a jack-fruit tree growing close by, is a two-storeyed excavation situated to left of the larger cell of the *Ṭhakurānī*. The lower storey consists of a room measuring 11 ft. 9 ins.

by 6 ft. 4 ins. with a verandah about 7 feet wide supported on one pillar *in antæ*. The pillar, as well as the pilasters and brackets, is carved with the figures of winged animals in pairs. The upper cave comprises a cell 7 ft. 3 ins. long by 5 ft. wide with a verandah in front measuring 6 ft. 8 ins. by 5 ft. 6 ins. The door of this cell has sloping jambs; and there are no shelves in the verandahs.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 257; (*k*) 2280.

No. 97.—(*a*) The Pātālapurī or "Hell-house" cave; called Martyaloka by Mitra.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill, a few yards to left, or north, of the Panasa cave (No. 96); (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain, but evidently later than Jaya-Vijaya.

(*f*) In the Pātālapurī cave a benched verandah opens into four rooms, two at the back and one on either side. The back rooms, measuring respectively 16 ft. 3 ins. and 16 ft. 10 ins. in length and 6 feet in width, are now converted into one through the fall of the partition wall. Each cell had originally two doorways, but the front wall between them has fallen and has been replaced by three new masonry piers. The side rooms measure 8 ft. 2 ins. by 7 ft. 3 ins. and $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 6 ft. respectively, and have one doorway each. The verandah, which is 25 ft. long by $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, was supported on three pillars between *antæ*, but the central pillar has disappeared. The pillars, but not the *antæ*, were relieved with winged animals in pairs. The only bracket extant is on the inner face, and is carved with a man armed with spear and shield fighting a lion. There are no shelves in the verandah.

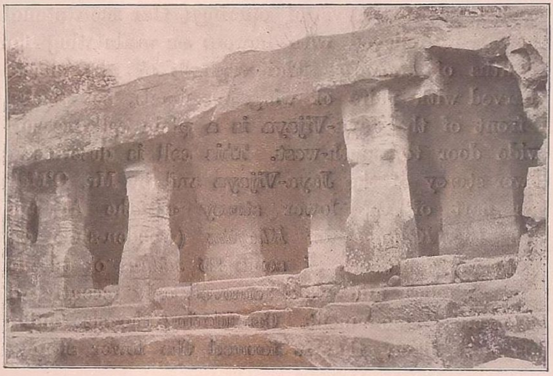

FIG. 145.—Pātālapurī cave, Khaṇḍagiri.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 257; L.A.M.B., 502; (*k*) 2281.

No. 98.—(*a*) The Mañchapurī or Martyapurī cave.

(*b*) Adjoining the Pātālapurī cave on the Udayagiri hill, to north-east of it; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) About the second century B.C.

(*f*) Adjoining the Pātālapurī cave on the Udayagiri hill, to north-east of it, is a two-storeyed excavation of which the lower storey is known as the Mañchapurī or Martyapurī, *i.e.*, the House of the Mortal World and the upper one as Svargapuri or the House of Heaven.

The Mañchapurī cave consists of a main wing comprising a side chamber and two back chambers to east, and a right wing with one chamber to south. The verandahs in front of the main and right wings have each figures of two *dvārapālas* or guards sculptured at the ends. All the four guards are badly damaged except the one at the left end of the main verandah, which is in a fair state of preservation and is shown as wearing a high turban, *dhotī*, and scarf, with a straight sword hanging from its left side. The front face of the rock forming the roof of the main verandah was carved with a procession of elephants and other figures below and with a railing above, the uprights of the railing being decorated with half lotuses in the lower and upper, and medallions and floral or other designs in the central ones. These carvings are now almost entirely obliterated owing to the action of the weather. The verandah measures 32 ft. 5 ins. long by 10 ft. 8 ins. wide and is supported on four pillars having brackets to front and back. The inner brackets of the two central pillars are each carved as two rampant horses ridden by *Yakshas*, those of the other pillars being relieved with female figures. The outer brackets have been lost.

FIG. 146.—Svargapurī and Mañchapurī caves, Khaṇḍagiri.

The main verandah opens into two rooms in front measuring 17 ft. 10 ins. by 7 ft. 6 ins. and 16 ft. 9 ins. by 7 ft. 6 ins. respectively, and a side room measuring 7 ft. 2 ins. by 5 ft. 8 ins. to right. The front rooms have each two doorways, the side room only one. The capitals of the pilasters at the sides of the doorways are decorated with winged animals, and the arches above them are carved, as usual, with lotuses or undulating floral designs. The arches are joined by raised oblong tablets below and a railing above. There are no bas-reliefs, except one in the third or central compartment of the eastern wing. The left half of this bas-relief is nearly obliterated, but the few traces left of it seem to indicate that it was an exact repetition of the scene depicted in the right half, which shows a crowned prince attended by three male figures worshipping with folded hands at a sacred (?) tree enclosed within a square railing in the centre of the panel. There was another figure in front of the crowned personage, but it is too badly mutilated to be identified. Above the group of worshippers are two flying *gandharvas* holding a guitar in their hands; and a full-blown lotus appears to their right. Behind the party is a well-modelled elephant apparently running towards them; and above the animal, in the upper corner of the compartment, is a flying

Vidyādhara bearing a tray of offerings or garlands in its left hand. It is difficult to suggest an identification for the prince shown in the bas-relief. The *gandharvas* and the elephant would indicate that the crowned figure might be that of Indra; but it might also represent one of the princes referred to in the inscriptions in this cave. The frieze was noticed for the first time by Mr. E. A. Garret in 1902. The pilasters at the sides of the doorways are badly damaged, as indeed is the whole of the structure. They are more elegant in form than those in the Rānī Gumphā or other caves, and their bases are carved in the shape of vases imposed on stepped pedestals. The arches are capped either with *triśūlas* or shield symbols.

The right wing of the Mañchapurī faces north and consists of a single cell, 13 ft. 5 ins. by 7 ft. with two doorways, and a benched verandah 14 ft. 6 ins. by 7 ft. in front, supported on a single pillar. The sculptured guards at the ends are badly damaged. Both wear *dhotīs* and originally had swords hanging from their left sides. There are no shelves in this verandah.

(*g*) (i) On a raised band between the arches of the third and fourth doorways from left is incised a Prākrit inscription of one line in Brāhmī characters of a slightly later date than those of the Hāthī Gumphā inscription of Khāravela. The inscription reads:—"*Kharasa Mahārājasa Kali* (*ṁ*)*g-ādhipatino mahā-* (*megha*)-*vāha* (*nasa*) *kudepasirino lena* (*ṁ*)-".

Translation.

"This is the cave of the clever, the King, Master of Kaliṅga, whose vehicle is the large cloud, Kudepasiri."

(ii) Another inscription, which is also of one line, is engraved in the 7th compartment over the side room to right. It simply describes the room as "*Kumāro Vadukhasa lenaṁ*", *i.e.*, "the cave of Prince Vadukhasa."

(iii) There was apparently another inscription in the 2nd compartment, but only two letters are now extant.

The titles of king Kudepasiri, mentioned in the first inscription are repetitions of those given to King Khāravela of the Hāthī Gumphā inscription (No. 102) from which it appears that Kudepasiri was probably a successor of the famous Khāravela.

(*h*) Much damaged; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 257-8; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 75-76; E.I., XIII, 160-161; (*k*) 2282; 2283.

No. 99.—(*a*) The Svargapurī cave; referred to by Mitra and Fergusson as Vaikuṇṭhapurī.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill. The upper storey of the Mañchapurī (No. 98) is popularly known as Svargapurī, literally, the "House of Heaven"; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) About second century B.C.; and presumably earlier than the lower storey.

(*f*) Unlike the upper storeys of the Rānī Gumphā and Alakāpurī caves, the Svargapurī is situated exactly over the lower storey. It consists of a benched verandah opening into a long room in front and a side room on the

right. The verandah, which is 24½ feet long and 7½ feet wide with an open terrace in front, has lost the greater part of its roof, which was supported on two pillars. The front room is 24½ feet long, and is flanked by side pilasters from which spring the usual arches relieved with floral designs. The pilasters are characteristically ornamented with winged animals, and the arches are joined by the plain waggon-shaped roofs of shrines, each supported on two *Yaksha* figures serving as brackets. The room at the right end measures 9 ft. by 7 ft. Mr. Fergusson considers these caves to be the prototype of the Rānī Gumphā, described above (No. 91). As in the Mañchapurī the carvings in this cave have almost entirely disappeared.

(*g*) In the space between the central and the right hand arches of the front chamber is engraved an inscription of three lines in early Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B.C. which reads as follows :—

1. *Arahaṁta pasādāya* [*ṁ*] *Kāliṁgā* [*na*] *ṁ* [*sama*] *nānaṁ lēṇaṁ kāritaṁ rājinō L*[*ā*] *lāka* [*sa*].
2. *Hathisa Haṁsa-papōtasa dhu* [*u*] *nā Kaliṁga-cha* [*kavatinō Siri-Kha*] *ravēlasa*.
3. *Agamahisi* [*n*]*ā Kāri* (*taṁ*).

Translation.

"This temple of the Arahats (and) cave for the Śramanas of Kāliṅga has been made. It has been made by the chief queen of the illustrious Khāravēla, the overlord of Kāliṅga, who was the daughter of King Lālāka (Lālāṛka), who was the son of Hastin, who again was the son of Haṁsa."

The inscription is believed to be some 30 or 40 years later than the Hāthī Gumphā inscription.

(*h*) Much damaged ; (*j*) Fergusson, Cave Temples, 75-76 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 258 ; E.I., XIII, 159-60 ; (*k*) 2282.

No. 100.—(*a*) The Gaṇeśa Gumphā.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri hill, some 50 yards to east of the Svargapurī ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) Ia ; (*e*) Probably contemporary with the Rānī Gumphā.

(*f*) The Gaṇeśa Cave, so-called from a figure of that god carved on the inner wall, occupies the northern side of a spacious quadrangle and consists of two rooms with a benched verandah in front, 34 feet long and 9 ft. 4 ins. wide. The verandah was originally supported on four pillars between *antæ* ; but the pilaster on the right hand and the pillar next to it apparently broke away and were chiselled off at a later time, so that at present there is a sort of an open porch in front of the right hand chamber. The approach to this chamber is flanked by an elephant on each side holding branches of a mango tree over a large full-blown lotus. Some parts of these elephants are old, but the legs and the pedestals beneath them are quite new.

On the outer face of the left-hand pilaster of the verandah is the figure of a guard, 4 ft. 6 ins. high, wearing turban, ear-ornaments, scarf and *dhotī* and

holding a spear in his right hand. On the bracket above him is carved the figure of a bull. The pillars are not decorated with any carvings, but the

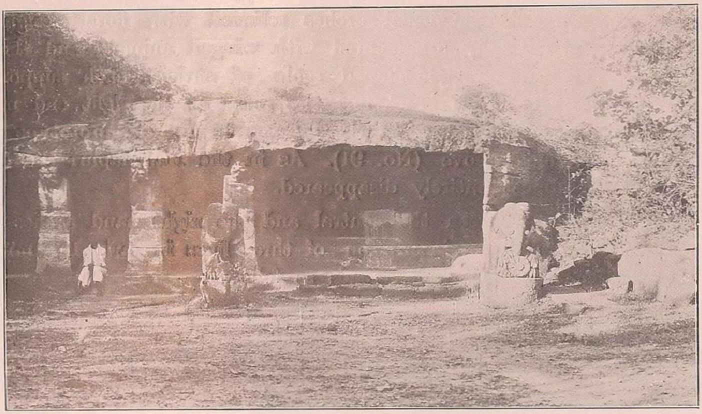

FIG. 147.—Gaṇeśa Gumphā, Khaṇḍagiri.

brackets on their outer and inner faces are relieved with standing figures holding spouted vessels, pitchers, flowers, etc. One figure has his hands joined in an attitude of prayer.

The right-hand room, on the inner or back wall of which is carved the Gaṇeśa figure, measures 17 ft. by 7 ft. 4 ins., and the other to left is 16½ ft. long and 7½ ft. wide, the partition wall between them being provided with a small window about a foot square at the floor level. On the back of the left-hand room is sculptured a small image of a *Tīrthaṅkara* seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation. Each room has two doorways with slightly sloping jambs and the usual side-pilasters, tympanum and arch. Unlike the other caves, the arches in this one are distinctly pointed; but both arches and pilasters here are ornamented in the usual way, the spaces between the former being occupied by waggon-shaped shrine roofs surmounted by railings. In the 2nd and 4th compartments the arches are joined at the springing by railings, over which are sculptured two well-wrought bas-reliefs resembling those in the upper main wing of the Rānī Gumphā. The lower bands of carved railings or shrine-roofs are all supported on the heads and hands of squatting *Yakshas*.

The first bas-relief in the Gaṇeśa Gumphā is an abduction scene and portrays a cave or house shaded by a tree, with a man lying on a bed and a woman sitting by him with her right hand resting on his left leg. The rest of the scene is exactly like that shown in the Rānī Gumphā, except that the man in the second group is walking with a stoop as if weary or wounded and carries only a sword in his left hand, and the ladies are apparently talking to each other. The second scene, which is carved in the 4th compartment, is noticeably different, and may well be divided into two parts. In

the first part, the termination of which is marked by a tree perhaps to represent a forest, four kilted soldiers, armed with swords and shields, are pursuing a party consisting of a woman and two men riding on an elephant. The hindmost rider, who, from his scanty dress, appears to be the *mahāut* or servant, has just cut off the head of the foremost pursuer ; the second or chief man, in the middle, is shooting arrows at the pursuing party with a bow drawn up to the ear ; while the lady, who is seated on the elephant with a goad in her hand, is looking on at the fight. In the second part of the scene, the three persons seen on elephant-back are repeated thrice. The first group shows the party dismounting from the kneeling elephant. In the second they are proceeding on foot, the man carrying his bow in the left hand, while his right arm is entwined round the waist of his female companion. The lady's left hand is placed on his right shoulder, and in her right hand she carries a branch of the *Aśoka* tree. The attendant behind is carrying what seems to be the severed head of one of the pursuers or, perhaps, the quiver of arrows for his chief. In the third or last group, the lady is seated on a bed in an attitude indicative of sorrow or weariness, with the branch of the *Aśoka* tree still in her right hand ; while the man is leaning towards her with folded hands and talking to her presumably with consolatory intent. To right of them, in the top corner of the panel, stands the attendant, holding the bow of his chief in the right hand and the (?) quiver in his left. The arches in this cave are distinctive in being pointed and not circular.

To right or east of the Gaṇeśa Gumphā are two small open caves with a third to their north, and about 100 yards to east is a small tank of water called the Lalitā Kuṇḍ. It measures 23 ft. by 17 ft., and is provided with steps on the west side.

(*g*) To right of the Gaṇeśa figure carved on the back wall of the right-hand chamber is engraved a Nāgarī inscription of 5 lines reading :—

1. *Śrī Śāntikara-saurājyād=āchandrārkkaṁ.*
2. *grihē grihē khadi* (?) *sa* (*ṁ*) (?) *jñē punaḥ prangē* (?) *ga-*
3. *jāsya virajē janē||* *Ijyā-garbha-samud-*
4. *bhūtō Nannaṭasya sutō bhishak Bhīmaṭō*
5. *yāchatē vānyaprasthaṁ samvatsarāt=punaḥ||*

"The characters belong to the latter half of the eighth or the first half of the ninth century A.D. It mentions a king named Śāntikara, who must be one of the Karas of Orissa. The inscription is in verse and seems to record some dedication made by Bhīmaṭa, a physician, the son of Nannaṭa. The second line, which contains the name of the object of dedication, is unfortunately in a very bad state of preservation, and consequently the purport of the inscription is not very clear." (E. I., XIII, 67.)

(*h*) Good ; (*j*) Fergusson, Cave Temples ; 86-91 ; Fergusson Ind. Arch., II, 12, 14, 15 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 258-9 ; L. A. M. B., 500-03 ; Hunter, Orissa, I, 186-88 ; E. I., XIII, 167 ; S.A.B., XIX, 76 ; (*k*) 264, 1467.

No. 101—(*a*) The Dhānghar cave, literally, the "Rice house".

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, some 20 yards north-west of the Svargapurī, and east of the Hāthī Gumphā; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Probably about the first century B.C.

(*f*) The Dhānghar consists of a single chamber 17 ft. 9 ins. long by 7 ft. wide, with three doorways facing east. The verandah is provided with benches and shelves, and measures 16 ft. 3 ins. by 6 ft. and 6 ft. 5 ins. high. The verandah roof is supported on two pillars between *antæ*; and on the outer face of the left-hand pilaster is carved the figure of a guard, 4 ft. 5 ins. high, wearing turban, *dhotī* and scarf, with both hands resting on the top of a *lāṭhī*. On the bracket of the left hand pilaster is carved an elephant and on the right hand one a lion. The outer brackets of the pillars have been lost; the inner ones are relieved with flowers. The doorways are without any flanking pilasters, and the arches are perfectly plain; but the compartments between them are decorated in the same way as in the Mañchapurī cave, namely, with plain oblong tablets below and railing above.

A few feet higher up, in the crest of the hill above the Dhānghar, is excavated an open cave, (13 ft. by 6½ ft.) with a window in the southern wall. The top of the hill has been dressed flat and edged with laterite blocks. In the centre of this levelled portion is a stone platform—probably the remains of a small temple of modern date.

Between the Dhānghar and the Hāthī Gumphā are three open caves facing south. The one near the Dhānghar measures 10 ft. 5 ins. by 6 ft. 4 ins. and 4 ft. 4 ins. high; the other which is at a higher level, is 12 ft. by 7 ft. and the third, situated immediately to the right of the Hāthī Gumphā, measures 13 ft. by 6 ft. and is partly blocked with débris.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 259; (*k*) 2284.

No. 102.—(*a*) The Hāthī Gumphā or "Elephant Cave."

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, some 80 feet north-west of the Svargapurī; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) About 1st and 2nd century B.C.

(*f*) The Hāthī Gumphā is a large natural cavern of irregular shape slightly enlarged by artificial means. The cave boasts of no architectural features; though the fine chiselling of the back and side walls to a dado height, and the Brāhmī inscriptions thereon, containing names of monks and ascetics clearly indicate that it was inhabited by men at an early date. At its widest and longest the Hāthī Gumphā measures 28 ft. by 59 ft. inside; while the cave mouth is about 12 ft. high.

The rock forming the roof has been chiselled away in front for the incising of an inscription of 17 lines measuring about 15 feet by 5½ ft., the celebrated inscription of the King Khāravela.

"The Hāthī Gumphā inscription is very valuable as a historical record; for it shows that, on the downfall of the Mauryan empire, Kalinga revolted and became an independent kingdom. This inscription, which is ascribed to about 160 B.C., contains a record of the career of King Khāravela, who

belonged to the Jaina faith, up to the 13th year of his reign. Khāravela evidently made Kalinga a powerful kingdom, and his invasion of Magadha

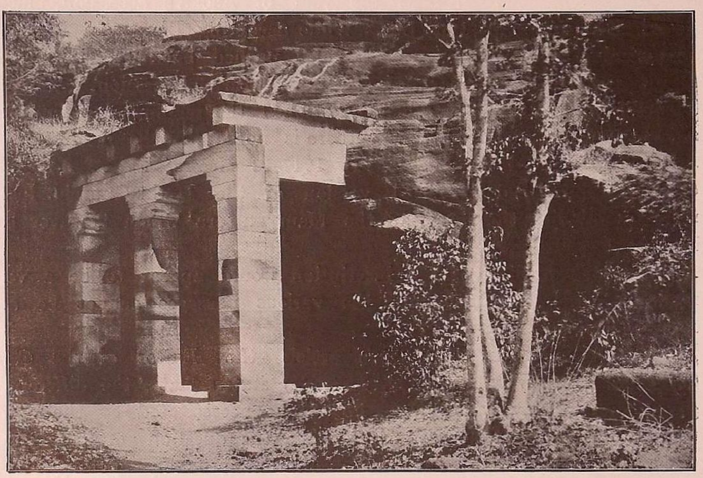

FIG. 148.—Hāthī Gumphā, Khaṇḍagiri.

indicates that he had become not only independent but aggressive; for this expedition into the heart of the Empire led him to the capital Pataliputra (Patna) on the banks of the Ganges, and compelled the Emperor to sue for peace and acknowledge his independence. Besides this account of his military prowess, the inscription records the pious deeds of the king,"[1] his recapture of the statue of the *Tirthankara* which had been carried away by the Nandas, his repair of the gates, city wall, and (artificial) lakes in the capital, his gifts to Brahmans and Arhats, his remittance of taxes on the occasion of the *Rajasuya* sacrifice, the musical entertainments he provided for the people, the construction of canals and caves, etc., etc. The inscription also speaks of an invasion of Northern India undertaken by Khāravela, which was celebrated by a popular pageant. The capital of this monarch was at Kalinga-nagari, which, it has been suggested, was "probably somewhere near Bhuvaneswar, but perhaps closer to the sea, as it is said to have been destroyed by a tidal wave."[1].

The inscription was first noticed by Stirling in 1825 and published by James Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837. Another eye-copy was published by Cunningham in 1877, and a third by Mitra in 1880. But the first really workable version of this important record was published by Dr. Bhagawān Lāl Indraji in 1885.

Bhagawān Lāl Indraji interpreted a sentence in the 16th line to mean that the 13th year of Khāravela's reign corresponded to the 165th current and

[1] Distt. Gazetteer, Puri, p. 24.

164th expired year of the Maurya Kings. He was inclined to believe that the era began with the eighth year of Aśoka, the year in which Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga, and, taking 263 B.C. as the year of Aśoka's accession, placed the accession of Khāravela in 103 B.C. While accepting Bhagawān Lāl's reading and interpretation of the sentence, Bühler pushed back the initial year of the Maurya era to the year of Chandragupta's accession. This theory held the field till 1910, when Fleet questioned the reading and interpretation of Bhagawān Lāl and declared that "there is no date in the inscription"; and in this he was followed by Lüders. In 1917-18 Messrs. K. P. Jayaswāl and R. D. Banerjee published a revised version of the Hāthī Gumphā inscription with fascimiles reviving the theory of the Mauryan era[1] which however has now been given up.[2]

Mr. Jayaswāl's reading of the inscription would appear to be a very free rendering and his interpretation of the various passages cannot be accepted without reservation.

In a reference to Mr. Jayaswāl's article the Editor of the *Cambridge History of India*, 1922 (Vol. I, p. 535, footnote) states that 'the different translation given by Mr. Jayaswāl seems not to be necessitated by the new reading to which he calls attention." But while the question of a precise date is disputed, it is conceded that the inscription probably belongs to about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. As the latest attempt at elucidating this important epigraph Mr. Jayaswāl's reading is, however, given here in full; and a brief note of the more important points of criticism it has evoked is also appended. It need hardly be added that finality in such a disputable matter is yet a long way off.

At the beginning of the inscription is a *Triśūla* and an 'Hour-glass,' and at the end a tree or (?) monogram enclosed in a railing, while on the left of the fourth line appears a *Svastikā* and at the end of the first line a *Nandipada*—all auspicious symbols.

Text of the Hāthī Gumphā Inscription.

Line 1.—Namo Arāhaṃtānaṁ (.) Namo Sava-Sidhānaṃ (.) Airena Mahārājena Mahā-megha-vāhanena Cheta-rājavasa-vadhanena pasatha-subha-lakhanena chaturaṃtac-thun gunopahitena Kali(m)g adhipatinā Siri-Khāravelena (Nandipada.)

Line 2.—pamdarasa-vasāni siri-kadāra-sarīra-vatā kīḍitā kumārakīḍikā tato lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā Vavahāra-vidhi-visāradena sava-vij=āvadātena nava-vasāni Yovarajaṃ pasāsitaṃ saṃ puṇa-chaturvīsati-vasotadāni vadhamāna-sesayo Ve(a)nābhivijayo tatiye

Line 3.—Kaliṃga-rāja-vaṃse purisa-yuge Mahārājābhise-chanaṃ pāpunāti (.) Abhisita-mato cha padhame vase (,) vāta-vihata-gopurapākāra-Nivesanaṃ paṭi-saṃkhārayati Kaliṁga-nagari Khlbiram-isi-tālam-taḍāga-pāḍiyo cha baṃdhāpayati sāv=ūyāna-patisaṃṭhapanaṃ cha

[1] J. B. O. R. S., III, 425-507 and IV, 364-403.
[2] J. B. O. R. S. 1927, 237ff.

Line 4.—kārayati (.) Panatīsāhi sata-sahasehi Pakatiyo cha raṃ- jayati (. - Dutiye cha vase achitayitā Sātakaṃṇiṃ Pachhima-disaṃ hayagaja-nara-radha) vahulum-damda(m) pathāpayati Kañha-benāṃ gatāya cha senāya vitāsitaṃ-Musika-Nagaram (.) Tatiye puna vase

Line 5.—Gaṃdhava-veda-budho daṃpa-nata-gīta-vādita-saṃdaṃsanāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi cha kīdāpayati Nagariṃ (.) Tathā cha (*i* ?) vuthe (more probably *chavuthe*) vase vijādharādhivāsam ahata-puvam Kāliṃ-ga-puva-rāja (nivesitaṃ). . vitadha-makūṭ (e) sa-bilam'ḍhite-cha nikhita chhata-

Line 6.—bihṃgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-Raṭhika-Bhojake pāde vaṃ-dāpayati (.) Pamchame cha dānī vase Namda-rajativasa-sata-oghāṭitaṃ Tanu-suliya-vāṭā Panāḍiṃ Nagaraṃ pavesa(ya)ṭi (.) Sopi (vase) chhadam (a) bhisito cha rājasuyaṃ samdasayaṃto sava-kara-vaṇaṃ

Line 7.—Anugha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati Poraṃ Jānapadaṃ (.) Satamaṃ cha vasaṃpasāsato Vajira-ghara-va(ṃ)ti gh(u)sita gharinī sa-matuka-pada-puṇ[ā] [ti?]-[kumārā?]. . . . (.)

Line 8.—Athame cha vase mahatā sen[ā] . . .. Goradha-giriṃ ghātāpayitā (.) Rāja-gahaṃ upa-pīḍāpayati (;) etin [aṃ *or* ā] cha kaṃmā padāna-spanādena saṃbita-sena-vahinīṃ vipamuṃ-chituṃ Madhurāṃ apayāto Yevana- rid(o)(nāma). . . .(mo?) yachha(ti)—vi—palava-. . . . .

Line 9.—Kapa-rukh(e) haya-gaja-radha-sah-yaṃte Sava-gharāvāsaparivasne sa-agiṇaṭhiye (;) sava gahanaṃ cha kārayituṃ Bamhaṇānaṃ jātipaṃtiṃ parihāraṃ dadāti (.) (Araha)ta. . . . . .va. . . . . .na. . . . . giya

Line 10.—. . . .1, 2, māehin 3 rā(ja)-saṃnivāsaṃ Mahā-vijayaṃ Pāsādāṃ Kārā-payati aṭhatisāya-sata-sahasehi (.) Dasame cha vase mahadhīta' bhisa-mayo Bha-radha-vasa-paṭhānaṃ Mahi-jaya-naṃ. . . .ti kārāpayati (niritaya ?) uyātānaṃ maṇi-ratanā(ni) upala-bhat(e)

Line 11.—maṃḍe cha puva-rāja-nivesita-pithuḍa-ga-da(la)bha-naṃgalene kāsayati gan-pad bhāvanaṃ cha terasa-vasa-sat ketubhada Tita' mara-deha-sam-ghātaṃ (.) Bārasame cha va(se) hasa-keja-sa[va] seh vitasayati. . . . utarāpatha-rājāno.

Line 12.—. . . .Magam-dhānaṃ cha vipulaṃ(w) bhayam Jāneto hathīsu Gaṃ gāya pāyayati (;) Māgadhaṃ cha Rājānaṃ Bahasati-mit(r ?) aṃ pāde vaṃdā payati (;) Naṁda-rāja-nītaṃ cha Kaliṃga-jina-saṃnivesaṃ. . . .naga. .(gaha-rata) na na-paḍihārehi Aṃga-Māgadha vasuṃ cha neyāti

Line 13.—. . . .ta jathara likhilabarā-ni sihirāni nīvesayati sata-veisikanaṃ parihārena Abhutamachhariyaṃ cha hathī-nāvana parīpuraṃ upadeṇha haya-hathī-ratanā(-mā)nikaṃ Pamdarājā edāni anekāni mutamaṇi-ratnāni aharā-payati idha sat[o] (.)

Line 14.—. . . .Sino vasī karoti terasame cha vase supavata-vijayi-chak[e] Kumārī-pavate arahite [yā]pa-kh(i)-masaṃvyatahi Kāyya-nisī-diyāya Yāpa-ñā-vakehi rāja-bhitini china-vatāni Vasāsitāni ; Pūjāni kata-uvāsā Khāravela-sirinā Jīvadeva (siri)kalpaṃ rākhitā (.)

Line 15.—. . . .su kataṃ samaṇa-suvihitā-n(a)ṃ cha sata-disān(a)ṃ ñātānaṃ tapas-isinaṃ saṃ-ghāyanaṃ (.) . . . . . .Arahata-Nisīdiyā-samīpe pabhāre varā-

kara-samu-thapitāhi aneka-Yojanāhi-tāhi ..silāhi siṃha-patha-Rāñi yahusiya nisayāni

Line 16.—Paṭāl[i]kochatare cha veḍūriya gabhe thaṃbhe pathiṭhāpayati (;) pānatariyā satasahasehi (.) Muriya-kālaṃ vochiṃn-(e ?) ṃ cha choyaṭhi-amaga-satika'ṃ tariyaṃ upādayati Khema-rājā sa Vaḍha-rāja sa Bhikhu-rāja Dhama-rāja pasaṃto sunaṃto anubhavaṃto Kalaṇāni

Line 17.—guṇa-visesa-kusala sava-pāsa(ṃ)ḍa-pūjako sava-devāyatana-saṃ-kāra-kārako patihata-chakī-vāhani-balochaka-dhuroguta chako pavata-chako rājasi-vasa-kula-vinis(r)ito Mahāvijayo Raja khara-vela-siri (Tree Symbol.)

Translation of the Hāthī Gumphā inscription.

Line 1.—Salutation to Arhats! Salutation to all the Siddhas! Śrī Khāra-vela, Emperor of Kaliṅga, the Aira, the descendant of Mahā, the Meghavāhana and Mahāraja, who is possessed of virtues which have reached the four ends (quarters), and who is of noble and auspicious feature-marks, the agent of the Cheti (Chedi) dynasty.

Line 2.—For *fifteen years* having played princely games with a body majestic with fair-brown (complexion), and after having thoroughly learnt royal correspondence, currency, state-accounting, municipal law and *dharma* injunctions, ruled for nine years in the office of Yuva-rājā having been prosperous (like Prince Vardhāman) and a conqueror like King Vena even in his boyhood.

Line 3.—Having completed the twenty-fourth year, he who for the rest of his manhood achieved ever-increasing victories, attained in the third generation of the Kalinga dynasty to (the anointing called) Māhārājya-bhishechanam. As soon as he was anointed, in his First year, (he) repairs the Kalinga capital, of which the gates, city-walls and buildings had been destroyed by a storm. He causes the construction of the embankment to the lake of Khibira-Rishi in the Capital of Kalinga. (He) also restored all the gardens.

Line 4.—(He), likewise, pleases the thirty-five hundred thousand People (subjects).

In the second year, disregarding Satakarni (he) despatches a large army of horse, elephant, foot, and chariot to the Western Quarter; the army having reached the Kṛishṇa-veṇā, he caused terror to the capital of Mushikas.

Line 5.—Again in the third year, (he), versed in the science of music (gandharva-veda), entertains the Capital with shows of daṃpa, dances, singing and music, and by holding festivities and Samājas.

Then in the Fourth year, the Vidyadhara-Abode, which had not been damaged before, and which had been held sacred by the Former Kings of Kalinga...... With their coronets (*makuṭas*) devoid of their significance and with their umbrellas.

Line 6.—And *bhṛingāras* (golden vases) broken down and felled, the Leaders (of) all the Rāshtṛikas and Bhojakas, deprived of their *ratnas*, were caused by (him) to bow at his feet.

Then in the *Fifth year*, (he) brings into the capital from the Tanasuliya Road the Canal excavated in the 103rd year of the era of King Nanda (Vardhana).

Line 7.—And as such (*i.e.*, victorious, as related in the preceding sentence), in the *sixth year*, he, consecrated for and showing rāja-Sūya, remits all Government taxes, bestows numerous privileges—by hundreds and thousands—on (the corporate bodies) the *Paura* and the *Jānapada*.

Ruling in the *seventh year*, his wife (lit. mistress of the house) named Dhisi (Dhṛishṭi), of the Vajira (Vajra), having fulfilled the noble dignity of the motherhood, having prince............................

Line 8.—In the eighth year, he (Khāra-vela) having got stormed the Gorathagiri (fortress) by a great army causes pressure around Rājagṛiha (lays seige to Rājagṛiha). On account of the report occasioned by these acts of valour, (*i.e.*, the capture of Gorathagiri, etc.) the Greek king Demet(rios) drawing in his army and transport (or covering himself with his army and vehicles) retreated to abandon Mathurā.

Line 9.—In the *ninth year*........he gives away a Kalpa-tree with leaves on, and horses, elephants, and chariots with their drivers, to all (*i.e.*, the donees of Kalpa-tree, etc.) (he gives, *Yachhati*, l·8) houses, residences, and buildings for common use, with fire altars, (and to make all those gifts accepted) he gives lands to the caste association (*Pankti*) of Brahmins. Arhat..................

Line 10.—..(he) builds the royal residence, the '*Palace of great victory*,' at the cost of *Thirty-eight hundred thousand* (coins).

In the *tenth year* he with the policy of war, peace and conciliation, causes.... departure for Northern India (Bhārata-varsha) to conquer the land, free from calamity, (?) he obtains the jewels and precious things of those who have been invaded upon.

Line 11.—(In the eleventh year) he (Khāravela) razes to the ground (lit. ploughs down with an ass plough) Pithurudam the market town (*mamda*) founded by the Āva king. In the twelfth year he breaks up the combination of the Tamil (*Tramira*) countries.

Line 12.—....and causing great panic amongst the people of Magadha, he makes his elephants enter the Su-gāṅgeya (palace of Nanda at Pāṭaliputra), and (he) makes the king of Magadha, *Brihaspatimitra* bow at his feet......... (he) brings home ..... the image known as the "Jina of Kaliṅga" which had been carried away by *King Nanda*......and the home *ratnas* as recaptures, (and) the precious things of Aṅga and Magadha.

Line 13.—He builds......excellent towers with carved interiors, by making land-grants to a hundred artists. And, he the capable one causes to be brought here, as trophies, from the *Pāṇḍya King*, all (kinds of) presents being the wonderful and marvellous cargo (lit. 'fill') of elephant-ships, choice horses and choice elephants and rubies, as well as numerous jewel pearls.

Line 14.—......(he) wins (the affection) of............. Again, in the *thirteenth year*, state manitenances, to be given on completion of vow, are

decreed (by Khāravela) to those who ended their course of births by austerities at the depository of the Body-remains on the revered Kumārī Hill, where the wheel of the conqueror (=Jina) is fully established. Śrī Khāravela having finished layman's vow realized (experienced) the beauty of (*i.e.*, the distinction between) soul (*jīva*) and matter (*deha*).

Line 15.—" ....for the leaders (founders) of Saṅghas, for accomplished Śramaṇas of good deeds, for the wise ones from hundred directions, for rishis practising austerities ; there near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the slope of the mountain, Shelters (Halting Places) for the Siṁha-prastha Queen Sindhuḷā, with stones, ...quarried out of excellent mines, brought from many miles (Yojanas)."

Line 16.—....(and) on the lower roofed terrace (*i.e.*, in the Verandah) he established at the cost of 75 hundred-thousand (panas) columns inlaid with Beryl and with bells attached (at the top). The four fold Aṅga-Saptika of 64 Sections, lost in the time of the Maurya (king) he (the king) restores. He (is) the king of prosperity (*Keshema*), the king of extension (of the empire) (or, a king to the old people), a king to the *Bhikshus* (or, though king yet a *bhikshu*), the king of Dharma who has been seeing to, listening to, and experiencing welfare (*Kalyana*).

Line 17.—"*King-Kharavela-Sri*, the great conqueror, descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sages, one whose chariot and army have been not obstructed, with an empire (or army), one whose empire has been extended, one who is the restorer of every temple, one who respects every sect, one who is an expert by virtue of special qualities."

The following remarks embrace certain comments made on the reading given above.

From an expression contained in line 4, Mr. Jayaswāl concludes that according to the official estimate the population of Kaliṅga numbered 3,500,000. This reading has been questioned and some people think that the number represents the amount spent by Khāravela on works of public utility.

Mr. Jayaswāl identifies the Nanda king whose era is mentioned in the inscription with Nanda Vardhana who ascended the throne in 458 B.C. He also takes the words *ti-vasa-satam* in line 6 to mean 103 as 300 would bring down the date of the excavation of the canal to about 158 B.C. when Khāravela was ruling in Orissa and using his own regnal years. He thus attributes the excavation of the canal to 355 B.C. And as the Andhra king Satakarni (I) and the Indo-Greek king Demetrios are mentioned as contemporaries of Khāravela, Mr. Jayaswāl puts the accession of Khāravela to 183 B.C. and the date of the record to about 170 B.C. Mr. R. Chanda [1] of the Archæological Department, however, takes the words *ti-vasa-satam* to mean "300 years" and identifies the Nanda Raja with the Mahapadama Nanda son of Mahanandin by a Sudra woman, who is said to have "uprooted all Kshatryas". Mr. Chanda places the accession of Mahapadama Nanda about the year 383 B.C. and that of Khāravela about 70 B.C. on the grounds (1) that an inscription of the King

[1] I.A., Vol. XLVIII, 1919, pp. 214-16.

Sātakarni (II), mentioned in the Hāthī Gumphā record, is also to be found on the south Gateway of Sāñchī, which was erected about the middle of the first century B.C. ; and (2) that the alphabet used in the Hāthī Gumphā inscription contains certain peculiarities and characteristics which are also met with in the inscriptions on the Gateways of Sāñchī.

Line 11.—Is read differently by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who translates it as follows :—

"Expells the 1300 Khasas [a wild tribe] who were a cause of anxiety to the whole community and who injured the body of the ascetics......" This again shows how very difficult it is to arrive at an agreement as to the correct reading of the Khāravela inscription.[1]

Line 12.—In line 12 again, Mr. Jayaswāl reads the name of the contemporary King of Magadha as *Bhasatimita* (Brihaspati-mitra). But Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests a different reading.

The inscription is badly damaged in several places ; and the rules of punctuation have been generally disregarded, so that the words admit of various combinations.

These disadvantages coupled with the fact that *prākrit* words have been frequently used, make it extremely difficult to read the inscription with accuracy.

Palaeographic evidence, too, cannot be considered as conclusive in this case, chiefly because there are but few inscriptions in the neighbourhood of which the date can be fixed with certainty.

To the west and north-west of the Hāthī Gumphā are a number of small caves, of which five are directly under the hill crest and one is excavated in a small rock lying between the Serpent cave and the Hāthī Gumphā.

(*g*) See (*f*) above. (*h*) A stone-shed has been recently erected to protect the inscription from the action of the weather ; (*j*) J. A. S. B. (1837), 1072-91 ; A. S. R., E. C., 1905-06, 12 ; 1906-07, 15 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 24 and 259-60 ; L. A. M. B., 502 ; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 66-8 ; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 11 ; Hunter, Orissa, I, 196-98 ; Asiatic Researches, XV, 313 ff ; C. I. I., Vol. I, 27 and pl. XVIII ; J. R. A. S. (1910), 242 ff, 824-8 ; J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I, 80 note 55, Vol. III, 425-507, Vol. IV, 364-403, Vol. VI, 337-47 ; Vol. XIII, 221-46, and Vol. XIV 127-28 and 150-51 (*k*) 265, 1965.

No. 103.—(*a*) The Sarpa Gumphā or Serpent Cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, some 50 feet west by north-west of Hāthī Gumphā in a detached rock lying on the left side of the narrow footpath leading to the hill crest. The cave faces east- (*c*) Government ; (*d*) IIa ; (*e*) Fergusson considers the Tiger and the Serpent Caves to be among the oldest of the sculptured caves in these hills and probably contemporary with the Hāthī Gumphā (No. 102).

(*f*) The Serpent Cave derives its name from the circumstance of the rock over the verandah being carved to resemble the head of a serpent with three hoods. The cave consists of a single small cell measuring 6 ft. 6 ins. long by 5 ft. 4 ins. wide and only 3 feet high. The roof of the cell projects about

[1] I.A., Vol. XLVIII (1919), pp. 187-191.

2 ft. beyond the doorway, forming a narrow verandah in front. On the left side of the same rock is another cell, measuring about 7 ft. by $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft., which is also known as the Serpent Cave. It is now without a verandah ; but above its doorway runs a deep broad horizontal groove in which were probably inserted the ends of wooden beams supporting a verandah roof. To right or north-east of the boulder containing the two Serpent Caves is an open cave measuring 7 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. 8 ins. ; and in the rock above this, and above the west end of the Hāthī Gumpha, there is a series of six small open caves facing south, some of which are badly damaged. Two of them are called the "Pavana" or 'Airy' caves, probably because they are situated high up under the very crest of the hill. The other four caves have no name, though the two at the right end were shown to Mr. Garret in **1903** as Gopālapura and Dvārakā. The largest of them measures about **16** ft. by **8** ft. They all are quite plain, like the many other open caves in these hills, and are of no importance. A few steps further, to right of the pathway, and north-west of the Serpent Cave, are three more open caves one above the other, now much damaged.

(*g*) There are two inscriptions in the cave ; one over the doorway and the other on the left jamb ;

(i) Over the doorway :—

Chūlakamasa Kothājēyā cha.

Translation.

"The unsurpassable chamber of Chulakama (Chūdākarman ?)."

(ii) On the left jamb :—

1. *Kaṁmasa Halkhi*
2. *ṇaya cha pasādō.*

Translation.

"The temple of Kamma and Halakshina."

The characters used in the 2nd inscription are about a century later than those of the first which belongs to the 2nd century B.C.

(*h*) Good ; (*j*) Fergusson, Cave Temples 69 ; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 17 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 260 ; E. I., XIII, 162 ; (*k*) 2286, 2287.

No. 104.—(*a*) The Bāgh Gumphā or Tiger Cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill ; some 50 feet north-west of the Serpent Cave a flight of steps leads to the Bāgh Gumphā ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) Ia ; (*e*) Fergusson considers the cave to be as old as the Hāthī Gumphā (No. 102).

(*f*) The Bāgh Gumphā or Tiger Cave, so called from its front being carved into the resemblance of a huge tiger's head, consists of a single small cell **7** ft. long and 6 ft. 4 ins. wide. The expanded jaws of the animal form the verandah ; and the entrance to the cell is appropriately placed in the gullet.

The door jambs lean inward considerably, and the pilasters at the sides of the doorway are ornamented with vases at the base and bell shaped capitals above, surmounted by two elephants set back to back on square pedestals. The arch is plain, but on either side of it near the top is a railing continued along the whole length of wall. In the upper left jaw of the tiger, (inside), just above the grinders, is carved the figure of a lizard in relief, the meaning of which is not clear. Higher up and some 50 feet to north of the Tiger Cave is a broken cell.

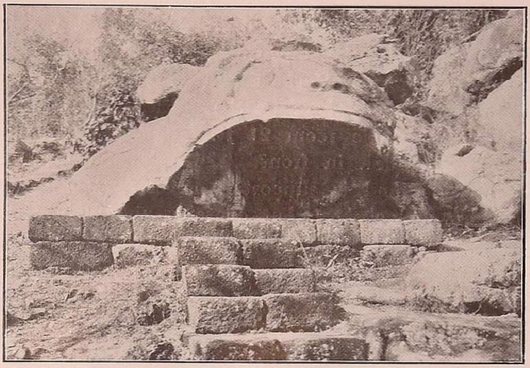

FIG. 149.—Tiger Cave, Khaṇḍagiri.

(*g*) To right of the entrance is a Brāhmī inscription of two lines which speaks of the excavation as being the cave of Sabhūti, or Subhūti. At the beginning of the inscription is the symbol known as the "Hour-glass," and at the end of the second line is the "Svastikā." The inscription reads:—

1. *Nagara-akhadaṁasa*
2. *Sabhūtinō lēnaṁ*

Translation.

"The cave of the town-judge Sabhūti (Subhūti)."

(*h*) Good; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 502; Fergusson, Cave Temples, 68-69; Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 17; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 260; S. A. B. XIX, 73; Hunter's Orissa, I, 180-81; (*k*) 1466, 2288.

No. 105.—(*a*) The Jambeśvara Gumphā; literally, "House of the Lord of Bears."

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, a few yards to north-west of the Tiger Cave; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) About 1st-2nd century B. C.

(*f*) The Jambeśvara cave consists of a single cell (10 ft. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) with two plain doorways facing south, and a benched verandah in front ($6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide) supported on one pillar between the end pilasters. To left of the Jambeśvara is an open cave measuring 8 feet by 6 feet 6 inches.

(*g*) Over the right-hand door of the cell is a Brāhmī inscription of one line which reads as follows:—

Mahāmadāsa bāriyāya Nākiyasa lēṇaṁ.

Translation.

"The cave of Nākiya, wife of Mahāmada."

(*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 260; L. A. M. B., 502; (*k*) 2289.

No. 106.—(*a*) The Haridās Cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, west of the Tiger cave (No. 104); (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) About 1st century B.C.

(*f*) From the Tiger Cave a flight of uneven steps descends towards a group of three caves about 50 feet higher than the Puri-Cuttack road through the glen. The eastern cave bears the name of Haridās and is so called after a *sādhu* of that name who took up his abode here in the sixties and seventies of the last century. It consists of a single room 21 ft. long by 7 ft. wide, with three large doorways and a verandah in front. The verandah measures 17 ft. 3 ins. long and 6 ft. 9 ins. wide, and is supported on one pillar in the centre. It is provided with benches and shelves, but contains no carvings.

(*g*) On the front wall is an inscription of one line in Brāhmī characters of about the 1st century B.C. It reads:—

Chūlakaramasa pasātō kothājōy (*a*) *cha.*

Translation.

"The temple and unsurpassable chamber of Chūlakarama."

(*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., 260; C. S. R., XIII, 93; E. I., XIII, 162-63; (*k*) 2291.

No. 107.—(*a*) The Jagannāth Cave.

(*b*) On the Udayagiri Hill, to left of the Haridās Cave; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain; but possibly contemporary with the Haridās Cave (No. 106).

(*f*) The Jagannāth Cave, so called from the existence of a rude drawing of that god on the inner wall, consists of one long chamber—the longest in Udayagiri—measuring 27½ ft. by 7 ft. with four simple doorways and a benched verandah in front, supported on three pillars. The brackets of the pillars, which occur on the outer face only, are carved with human or *Yaksha* figures in low relief; both pillars and pilasters being also decorated with animal figures and flowers towards the top. To left of the Jagannāth is a small cave called the Rasóī or 'Kitchen'. It consists of a cell measuring 9 ft. by 6½ ft. with an outer chamber forming an open columnar verandah in front.

(*g*) None: (*h*) Good; (*j*) C. S. R., XIII, 93; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 260; (*k*) 2290.

No. 108.—(*a*) The Ananta Gumphā.

(*b*) On a high ledge just below, and to the north of, the crest of the Khaṇḍagiri Hill; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) Probably about the 1st century B.C.

(*f*) The Ananta Cave is situated on a high ledge which is crowned by a Jaina temple. The ledge can be reached by the track from Tatvā Cave I or by the steps cut in the rock to right of the Khaṇḍagiri cave, or again by the steeper steps near the Bārabhujī cave. It consists of a long chamber 23 to 24½ feet long by 6½ ft. wide and 6 ft. high, with an arched ceiling. The chamber had originally four doorways, but the wall between the first and the second doorways has fallen away, so that only three openings now

remain. On its back wall, just below the ceiling line, are carved in relief the following sacred symbols arranged in a row :—*Triśūla* in the centre, flanked by an 'Hour-glass' on either side ; *Svastikās* at the ends, and 'Shields' between the *Svastikās* and the 'Hour-glasses.' All symbols except the *Svastikās* are set on stepped pedestals. Below the *Svastikā* and the Shield symbols at the right end is a rectangular niche containing in low relief the outline of an incomplete Mediæval figure of a standing *Tīrthaṅkara* attended by two *chaurī* bearers. The front wall of the chamber is decorated with the usual side pilasters, tympana, arches, etc.—the tympana in this instance being also carved. Unfortunately the fall of the intervening pier between the first and the second doorways from left has carried away with it parts of the two nearest tympana. Beginning from the left, the first tympanum portrays a royal elephant in the centre, facing, attended by an elephant on each side carrying lotus buds and flowers in their trunks. The portion of the tympanum containing the right-hand elephant is missing. The second tympanum shows *Sūrya,* the Sun-god, under an umbrella, driving a chariot drawn by four horses. He is accompanied by his two wives *Saṁjñā* and *Chhāyā* seated on his right and left respectively. To proper left of Chhāyā ('shade') is a crescent surrounded by stars ; and to right of *Saṁjñā* an elaborate lotus probably representing the Sun. At the lower right end of the relief is a burly demon, probably Rāhu (who is believed to cause the Eclipses), carrying an indistinct object in the right hand and a spouted vase in the left. The corresponding horses and demon on the left side have been lost. The third tympanum shows the goddess Śrī standing on a lotus, with two elephants, one on each side, pouring water over her from vases held in their uplifted trunks. Behind the elephants are two parrots pecking at some half-open lotus buds. The fourth tympanum depicts in the centre a *pīpal* tree within a square railing. To left of the tree stands a female figure in devotional attitude attended by a servant carrying a spouted vase and a tray of offerings ; to right is a woman holding up a long garland to be placed on a branch of the sacred tree ; she is attended by a maid carrying a vase and offerings. The tympana arches are also carved. The first arch on the left-hand side is relieved with lotus flowers and garlands ; on the second and third is a fantastic representation of men or *Yakshas* struggling with lions

FIG. 150.—Ananta Gumphā ; carvings on the facade, Khaṇḍagiri.

and bulls; while the fourth represents a succession of twelve *Brāhmany* geese, six on the left and six on the right, all bearing lotus buds in their beaks, and meeting at the crown of the arch. The arches are capped by *Triśūlas* and Shields alternately, and are flanked by a large three-hooded serpent on each side, the hoods of the serpents being shown near the springing of the arches, and the tails extending along the extrados up to the crown. The three-hooded serpent is the symbol of Pārśvanātha, and the cave may conceivably have been dedicated to him. The central spaces between the arches are relieved with flying *Vidyādharas* bearing offerings. Two such figures are shown in each intervening space, and above them in the three central panel-spaces is a frieze consisting of a series of stepped pyramids with a half-blown lotus-flower between them. On either side of the frieze of pyramids is a railing which, interrupted only by these friezes and the heads of the arches, extends across the whole front and is continued along the side walls. The panel at the left end shows a flying *Vidyādhara* snatching away a garland from a tray borne on the head of a demonaic *Yaksha* with long, pointed ears. The corresponding relief at the other end contains two *Vidyādharas* flying one behind the other.

The side pilasters of the doorways are decorated with neat and delicate designs. They have vase forms at the base and bell-shaped capitals, both the vases and the bells being elaborately ornamented with lotus patterns; the bells being further relieved at the shoulders with vertical ribs resembling *āmalak* ribs. Above these capitals are the usual animals in pairs. The decoration on the shafts differs with each pair.

The verandah, which measures 27½ ft. by 8½ ft., is supported on three pillars of characteristic type. At the top the pillars and also the pilasters were provided with decorative brackets on front and back, the outer brackets lending a support to the short concave *chhajja* projecting beyond the pillars. On the brackets of the end pilasters are carved elephants and lotuses inside, and horsemen outside; while those of the pillars are each ornamented with a squatting *Yaksha* on the outer faces, and two standing female figures on the inner. The northern portion of the ledge has been levelled and forms a spacious courtyard in front of the cave.

"Taking it altogether," Fergusson observes, "the Ananta is certainly one of the most interesting caves of the group. It presents a nearly complete picture of Buddhist symbolism of a very early age and is well worthy of more attention." But, in point of fact, it is very difficult to say to which religion the Ananta cave belonged. The *Sūrya* in the second compartment appears to be a part of the original design, and, as far as is known, the Sun-god was never assigned a place of honour in early Buddhist mythology. As for the symbols on the back wall, they are as much Jaina as Buddhist; the 'Hour-glass' and the *Svastikā* also appearing in the Khāravēla inscription, which is certainly a Jaina memorial.

(*g*) Over the lintel of the left-hand doorway of the verandah are traces of the Brāhmī inscription of one line, and on the left jamb is a

small modern Nāgarī inscription of five lines. The Brāhmī inscription reads as follows :—

Dōhada samaṇanaṁ lēṇaṁ

Translation.

"The cave of the monks of Dōhada."

(*h*) Good ; (*j*) Fergusson, Cave Temples ; 70-75 ; Fergusson Ind. Arch., II, 15-16 ; J. B. O. R. S., IV, 386 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 263 ; L. A. M. B., 488-92 ; C. S. R., XIII, 80-82 ; E. I. XIII, 164-165 ; (*k*) 1759-61, 2233-39.

No. 109.—(*a*) The Tatvā Gumphā or "Parrot Cave".

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill ; a few yards below, and to the north of, the Ananta cave ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) Ia ; (*e*) About 1st century B. C.

(*f*) The Tatvā cave, so-called from the figures of some parrots carved at the sides of the arches, faces north and consists of a single cell which measures 16 ft. 4 ins. to 18 ft. 2 ins. long, 7 ft. 6 ins. wide and 5 ft. 9 ins. high. It is entered through three doorways with ornamental side pilasters, tympana and arches. In front of the cell is a benched verandah, 18 ft. 2 ins. by 6 ft. 8 ins., supported on two pillars of the usual type. The side pilasters have vase-shaped bases, reeded bell-capitals and cable neckings. The animals sculptured on the capitals of the pilasters are bulls, in the case of the right-hand doorway ; lions under some trees, in the corresponding left-hand doorway ; and elephants—four instead of the usual two—on those flanking the central entrance. The arches and the tympana are all adorned with floral decorations, and the spaces between the arches are filled in with a balustrade-pattern below, and oblong waggon-shaped roofs crowned with pinnacles above. Near the top of the arch at the right end are carved two parrots to right and one to left ; the central arch has a parrot at the right side and a peacock at the left ; and the left-hand one, two deer to right only. At the further end of the half-panel space on the left appears a lion's head over the verandah shelf, and in the right hand one an elephant. The verandah pillars were all provided with brackets on both inner and outer faces. The inner brackets of the central pillars are relieved with human figures ; the rest had floral decoration now much damaged.

To west of this cave is a small open cave facing north-west, and a few feet lower down is a large cave also known as the Tatvā or Parrot's cave.

(*g*) (i) On the back wall of the cell is a mutilated Brāhmī inscription of six lines painted in red pigment and comprising individual letters of the alphabet in characters which may belong to the first century B.C. or first century A.D.

1. ....*gha*.......................
2. ......*na ta tha da dha na*.......................
3. ......*na ta tha da dha na*........*sa sha sa*
4. ......*na ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha*......*sha sa ha*.....
5. ....*ṫa tha sa sha na pa pha ba*....*sa sha sa ha*
6. ....*tha*........................

(ii) On the outer face of the left-hand pillar of the verandah is engraved an inscription in an unknown script which bears a strong resemblance to the "shell characters."

(*h*) Good; (*j*) Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 17-18; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 260-61; C. S. R., XIII, 82-83; E. I., XIII, 165; (*k*) 2250; 2251.

No. 110.—(*a*) Tatvā Gumphā or "Parrot Cave" II.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill, a few feet below Tatvā No. I, to north; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) Probably first century B.C.

(*f*) The second Tatvā Cave consists of a single cell, 11 ft. 8 ins. by 7 feet, with two doorways and a benched verandah 6 feet wide in front supported on one pillar. The pilasters flanking the doorways are quite plain, but their capitals are, as usual, carved with animal figures. The arches are relieved with lotus designs and flanked by a parrot carved on each side near the top. The spaces between the arches are filled with oblong arched roofs crowned with pinnacles, above which runs a balustrade pattern along the whole of the front wall, interrupted only by the heads of the arches. The pillar supporting the verandah roof has a bracket on the inner face which is decorated with floral carvings. At each end of the verandah is the mutilated figure of a guard.

Adjoining the cave on the east is a small open cell 3 ft. 4 ins. square and 5 feet high.

(*g*) On the pier between the two doorways of the cell is a Brāhmī inscription of one line, which is said to be the oldest inscription in the Khaṇḍagiri group of caves. It reads:—

Pādamulikasa Kusumāsa leṇa(ṁ) phi (?)

Translation.

"The cave....(?) of Kusuma, the servant (or an inhabitant) of Pādamulika ....."

(*h*) The cave is badly disfigured by a vertical crack in the middle. (*j*) Fergusson, Ind. Arch., II, 17-18; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 261; E. I., XIII, 164. (*k*) 2252, 2253.

No. 111.—(*a*) Tentuli Cave; so-called from a tamarind tree (*tentul*) growing in front of it.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill to south-west of a small open cave west of Tatvā I; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain.

(*f*) The cell measures 10 ft. by 6½ ft. and has two doorways, of which the right hand one is partly blocked with stones. The side pilasters of the doorways have plain vases carved at the base, and ribbed shafts, surmounted by the usual animal figures (lions on the right hand ones and crouching elephants on the left). The tympana, arches, etc., are not carved, and the cave has an unfinished appearance. The door jambs slope inward considerably. The verandah in front measures 11½ ft. by 6 ft. and is supported on one pillar, of which the inner bracket is carved with a female figure, and the outer one with a spirited elephant.

(*g*) None. The cave appears never to have been finished. (*h*) Good; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 261; L. A. M. B., 502; (*k*) 2248, 2249.

No. 112.—(*a*) The Khaṇḍagiri or "Broken Hill" Cave; so-called from the cracks in its two storeys.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill, to the south-west of Tentuli Cave (No. 111); (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain.

(*f*) This two storeyed cave is the first to be reached by the flight of steps from the public road. The chamber in the lower storey is 16 ft. 8 ins. wide and 6 ft. 2 inches high; that in the upper storey 8 ft. 10 inches long, 7 ft. wide and 4 ft. 10 inches high. To right or north-west of these chambers there is a small dilapidated cell in the lower storey, and a slightly larger one in the upper; the latter with a small window in the west wall and a colour drawing of the god Jagannāth on the back wall.

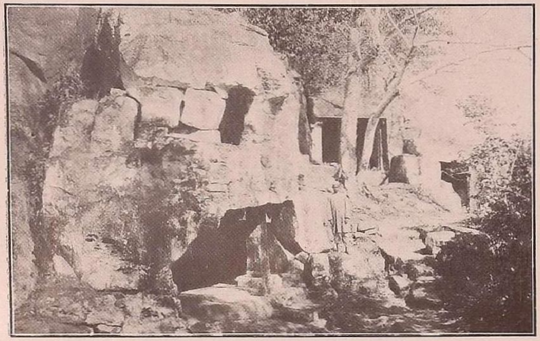

FIG. 151.—Khaṇḍagiri and Tentuli Caves, Khaṇḍagiri.

(*g*) None. (*h*) good. (*j*) C. S. R., XIII, 83; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 261. (*k*) 2247.

No. 113.—(*a*) The Dhyānaghar, or Shell Cave.

(*b*) To south of Khaṇḍagiri cave; on the Khaṇḍagiri hill; (*c*) Government; (*d*) IIa; (*e*) Uncertain; probably Mediæval.

(*f*) Originally consisting of a room, 17 ft. 2 ins. to 19 ft. 6 ins. by 7 ft. with three doors and a verandah in front on two pillars (17 ft. by 7 ft.), the cave has been converted into a large open cell through the fall of the front wall and the verandah pillars. A fragment of the front wall is still extant on the right side.

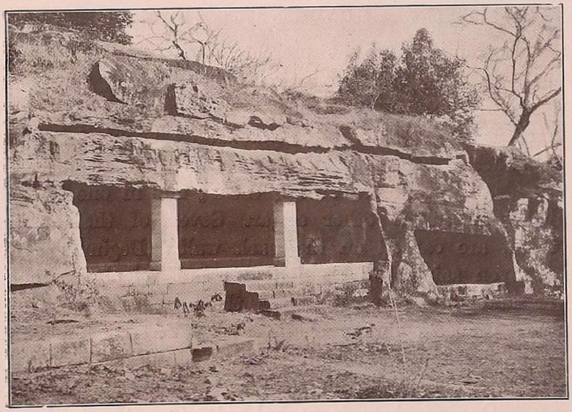

FIG. 152.—Navamuni and Dhyānaghar Caves, Khaṇḍagiri.

(*g*) (i) On the left-hand wall of the verandah are engraved some seven letters of an inscription in shell characters. It is on account of this inscription that the cave is sometimes called the "Shell" cave—the local name being Dhyānaghar

or "the House of Meditation." (ii) On the back or west wall, now black with soot, are some odd letters of an inscription.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C. S. R., XIII, 83-84; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 261. (*k*) 2246.

No. 114.—(*a*) The Navamuni Cave; so called from the figures of some Jaina saints carved on the walls of the cell.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri hill; south of the Shell Cave (No. (113); (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia; (*e*) Uncertain, but probably Mediæval.

(*f*) The Navamuni or "the Cave of the Nine Saints", originally consisted of two chambers with a common verandah, but the front and partition walls

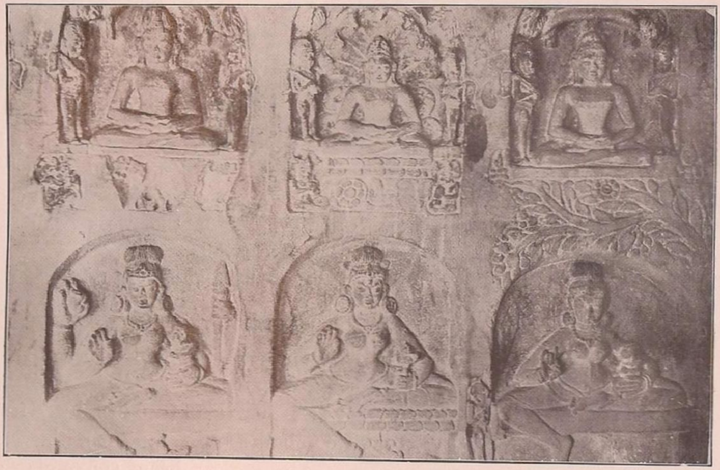

FIG. 153.—Rock-cut images inside the Navamuni Cave, central portion, Khaṇḍagiri.

having fallen, it appears as an open cave at present, about 30 ft. long by 15 feet wide. The verandah was supported on two pillars, which have also fallen away, and they have been replaced by new ones. The walls of the right-hand room are relieved with the figures of ten *Tīrthaṅkaras* about 1 ft. high seated in niches with *Sāsana-devīs* below them. Pārśvanātha, who is easily recognised by his serpent-hoods, occurs twice among them; but in one instance has a flower as his symbol, and in the other a jar. Seven of these saints, with *Sāsana-devīs* below them, are carved on the back wall. Beginning from left, the symbols of these seven saints are as follows: bull, elephant, horse, monkey, bull again, flower and lotus; and those of their consorts are: bird, elephant, flower, (?) monkey, peacock, flower again, and lion. To left of the row of female figures is a seated image of Gaṇeśa with his *Vāhana*, the rat on the pedestal. On the right hand wall, on a level with the lower row are carved two *Tīrthaṅkaras*. One of them is probably Pārśvanātha, with seven serpent-hoods and a jar as the symbols, and with a short Nāgarī inscription

below him containing the name of one Srī Vākiravi. The other figure has a bull on its pedestal and probably represents Ādinātha. These figures, together with Gaṇeśa and a small figure on the left-hand wall now worshipped as Pārśvanātha, are apparently later than the two rows of seven figures on the back wall. On the pedestal of the small figure on the left wall is carved a crescent and a (?) flower.

(*g*) On the inner face of the central architrave of the verandah is an inscription of three lines in Nāgarī script of about the 10th century A.D., which reads as follows :—

1. *Ōṁ Śrīmad-Udyōtakēsaridēvasya pravarddhamānē vijaya-rājyē samvat* 18
2. *Śrī-Ārya-saṁgha-prativaddha-Graha-kula-vinirggata-dēśīgaṇ-āchārya-śrī-Kulachandra-*
3. *bhaṭṭārakasya tasya śishya-Subha-chandrasya*

Translation.

" The year 18 of the increasing and victorious reign of the illustrious U(d)dyōtakēśari-Dēva. (The work of) Subhachandra, the disciple of the lord, the illustrious āchārya Kulachandra, (who) belonged to the Graha Kula, of the illustrious *Ārya* congregation (and belonged to) the *dēśīgaṅa*." Dr. Thomas translates the latter portion of the inscription as :—" āchārya of the Dēśī *gaṇa* derived from the Graha *Kula* belonging to the illustrious Ārya *saṁgha*."

(ii-iii) On the broken wall are two short inscriptions which read as follows :—

(ii) *Śrīdhara Chhātra, i.e.,* " the student Śrīdhara."

(iii) 1. *Ōṁ Śrī-āchārya-Kulachandrasya tasya.*
2. *śishya-Khalla-Subhachandrasya.*
3. *Chhātra Vijō.*

Translation.

" (The work of) Vijo (Vidyā or Vidya), the pupil of Khalla Subhachandra, (who was) the disciple of the illustrious Āchārya Kulachandra."

(iv) Below the serpent-canopied figure on the right hand wall, is a short Nāgari inscription recording the name of one Srī Vākiravi.

(*h*) Good. (*j*) C. S. R., XIII, 84-85 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri ; 261 ; L. A. M. B., 492 (under Satghara) ; E. I., XIII, 165-66 ; (*k*) 1940-1942, 2246.

No. 115.—(*a*) Bārabhujī or " Twelve-armed " cave.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri hill, south of the Navamuni cave (No. 114) ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) Ia ; (*e*) Uncertain, but probably Mediæval.

(*f*) The Bārabhujī cave, so-called from two figures of a twelve-armed female deity carved on the side walls of the verandah, consisted of a long chamber, 22 ft. 7 ins. by 7 ft. 4 ins., with a verandah in front 19 ft. 4 ins. by 7ft. The cell was entered through three doorways, but the rock wall containing them having fallen away, the roof is now supported on two modern pillars. The verandah was also supported originally on two pillars, but these have dis-

appeared and are now replaced by new ones built beneath the remaining top portion of the old ones. On the walls of the cell are carved in medium relief a large nude figure of Pārśvanātha standing on a lotus, as well as 24 seated *Tīrthaṅkaras* or Jaina saints with the *Śāsana-devīs* below them. The figure of Pārśvanātha is carved on the back or west wall, and is canopied by a seven-hooded serpent. The saints and their *devīs* are shown with their different symbols, and are all nearly of the same size, namely, 8 to 10 inches in height, but the figure of Pārśvanāth is 2 feet 7½ inches high, a circumstance suggesting his having been the saint held in most honour at Khaṇḍagiri. The figures of the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* have been distributed over all the three walls of the cell. Five of them are carved on the left wall, seventeen on the back or west wall, and two on the right-hand one. Below the figure of each saint is that of his *debī*. Many of the female figures have extra arms ranging from four to twelve. The figures are very much damaged; and certain portions of some of them do not appear to have been completed. An extra figure of a standing worshipper occurs on the right wall. Beginning from the left, the symbols of the chief figures are:—

FIG. 154.—Bārabhujī image inside the cave, Khaṇḍagiri.

(Upper row): 1, bull; 2, 3, broken; 4, dog; 5, (?) crocodile; 6, lotus; 7-10, uncertain; 11, boar; 12, buffalo; 13, boar; 14, uncertain animal; 15, (?) Vajra; 16, buck; 17, goat; 18, (?) half fish; 19, jar; 20, tortoise; 21, lotus-bud; 22, (?) Vajra on lotus; 23, (?) Nāgī; 24, lion.

(Lower row): 1, crowned winged figure (? monkey or bird); 2, 3, 4, broken; 5, fish; 6, duck; 7, peacock; 8, lion; 9, bull; 10 and 11, broken; 12 and 13, bird; 14, horse; 15, an animal, unidentified; 16, liṅga; 17, (?) buffalo; 18, boar; 19, deer; 20, this goddess is sleeping on her right side and is attended by three females, one of whom is fanning her; (symbol, a jar); 21, three-faced goddess, (symbol, a bird); 22, lion; 23, linga; 24, elephant.

From their style and technique these figures are ascribable to the Late Mediæval period.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) C. S. R., XIII, 85-88; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 262; L. A. M. B., 492 (under Satghara); (*k*) 2244, 2245.

No. 116.—(*a*) The Triśūla or Hanumān cave.

(*b*) To south of the Bārabhujī (No. 115), on the Khaṇḍagiri hill; (*c*) Government; (*d*) Ia: (*e*) Probably Mediæval.

(*f*) The Triśūla cave, so-called from a rude carving of a *triśūla* on the left wall of the verandah, consisted of a single chamber with three doorways. The

piers between the doorways have disappeared, and the roof is now supported on two new pillars. The verandah is 21 ft. long and 7 ft. wide. It was carried on two pillars, but the original ones have broken away and are replaced by new ones. The room is 22 feet 4 inches long by 7 feet 4 inches wide and 8 feet high, and is unique in containing a bench inside—apparently a later feature. Above the bench is carved on the wall a series of 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras*, ending with Mahāvīra, and including a standing figure of Pārśvanātha under the seven hoods of a snake. In this group, Pārśvanātha, instead of being placed before Mahāvīra as the 23rd saint in the series, is given the position of honour approximately in the centre of the back wall. Besides these figures, three detached chlorite images of Ādinātha, beautifully carved, are set up on the bench in front of the back wall. They are, perhaps, among the best of the Mediæval figures to be seen at Khaṇḍagiri. They measure respectively 19 ins. by 10 ins., 20 ins. by 11 ins., and 24 ins. by 12 ins. and were originally kept in the Bārabhujī cave whence they were removed to the Patna Museum, but were subsequently returned to Khaṇḍagiri and placed in the Hanūmān cave. A brief description of the *Tīrthaṅkaras* carved in this cave is given below. It may, however, be remarked that all standing figures in this group are shown naked ; all figures whether seated or standing are flanked by two or more attendants ; the symbols are flanked by vases, one on either side ; and the pedestals have lions rampant at the corners :—

(1) Standing figure of Ṛishabhadēva (ht. 3 ft. 4 ins.), with bull on pedestal. Garland-bearing *gandharvas* above, and *nāgīs* and other attendants and worshippers at the sides.

(2) Standing figure of Ajitanātha. Moon and crescent at the top, and elephant on pedestal.

(3) Sambhavanātha in meditation, seated on a full-blown lotus with the palm of the right hand placed over that of the left. Horse on pedestal.

(4) Similar *Dhyānī*-figure of Abhinandana. The symbol is a monkey.

(5) Seated figure of Sumatinātha. Goose on pedestal.

(6) *Dhyānī*-figure of Padma-Prabhu. Lotus symbol.

(7) *Dhyānī*-figure of Supārśvanātha. On the pedestal is a *Svastikā* with its arms turned to left instead of the usual turn to right.

(8) *Dhyānī*-figure of Chandraprabhu. Crescent and moon on pedestal.

(9) Similar seated figure with peacock symbol. Unidentifiable.

(10) Standing figure of a *Tīrthaṅkara* with (?) Vajra symbol.

(11) Similar seated figure, with seven-headed serpent hood ; plant on pedestal. Pārśvanātha or Neminātha.

(12) Standing figure, with buffalo as symbol.

(13) Similar standing figure. (?) Boar on pedestal ; head of boar broken.

(14) *Dhyānī*-figure of Suvidhinātha (9th *Tīrthaṅkara*). Crocodile symbol.

(15) *Dhyānī*-figure. Unknown. (?) Vajra symbol.

(16) *Dhyānī*-figure of Śāntinātha (16th *Tīrthaṅkara*). Deer symbol.

(17) *Dhyānī*-figure of Kunthunātha (17th *Tīrthaṅkara*) ; symbol (probably) goat.

(18) *Dhyānī*-figure. Unknown. Fish on pedestal.

(19) *Dhyānī*-figure of Mallinātha. (?) Vase on pedestal.

(20) *Dhyānī*-figure of Maṇinātha. Plant as symbol.

(21) *Dhyānī*-figure of Munisuvrata (20th *Tīrthaṅkara*). Tortoise as symbol.

(22) *Dhyānī*-figure of Neminātha (22nd *Tīrthaṅkara*). Symbol, conch-shell flanked by peacocks.

(23) Standing figure of Śreyāṁsanātha (11th *Tīrthaṅkara*). Rhinoceros on pedestal.

(24) Standing figure of Mahāvīra (ht. 3 ft. 3 ins.). Lion symbol.

In front of this cave, as also of the Bārabhujī, a narrow *chhajja* has been added in extension of the old one and is supported on three masonry pillars. On the rock flanking the right-hand pilaster of the verandah is carved a figure of Hanumān, the long-tailed monkey-god, and a small shed has been built over it. The cave is sometimes called the Hanumān cave from the existence of this image. The Triśūla and the Bārabhujī caves are both provided in front with a modern stone platform.

A small modern shrine stands in front of the Bārabhujī cave, and a larger one on the top of the Triśūla. Neither shrine contains any images.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) Good ; (*j*) C. S. R., XIII, 88-90 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 262 ; L. A. M. B., 492 (described under Satghara) ; (*k*) 2241-43.

No. 117.—(*a*) Three Jaina figures.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill, about 20 yards to south of the Triśūla or Hanumān Cave (No. 116) ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) Ia ; (*e*) About the 8th-9th century A. D.

(*f*) A few steps to south of the Triśūla cave are the remains of an open cave, now concealed by the jungle growing in front of it ; and a few yards further south are the traces of another cave, of which the roof and sides have all collapsed. The rock at the back, however, still stands intact, and on its smoothed surface are carved three large figures in high relief at a height of at least 20 feet above the level of the foot-path. That there was a cave here originally is indicated by the smoothed surface of the rock, and the remains of a partition wall. The figures face east and are portrayed standing. The first figure on

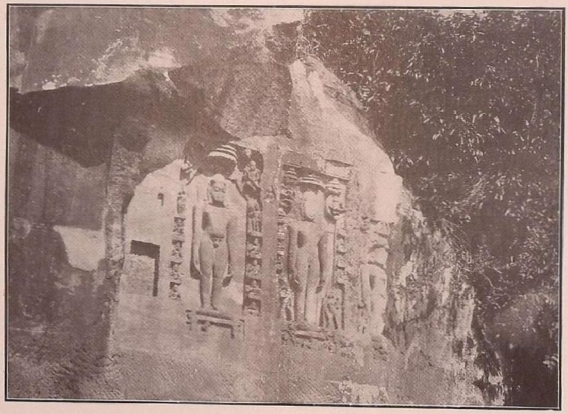

FIG. 155.—Jaina images cut in rock near the Lalātendu Kesarī cave, Khaṇḍagiri.

the right is that of a woman whose right hand is held by a child standing on the pedestal beneath. Below the woman's feet is carved a lion. The other two figures are nude, and probably represent Rishabhadeva, the first Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara,* whose *Lānchhana,* the bull, is carved on the pedestal. On either side of the saint's figures are a number of attendants.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) The figures are well preserved, though exposed to the action of the weather ; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 263 ; Mr. Garret's official note dated May 1902, to Commissioner of Cuttack, p. 8 ; (*k*) 2240.

No. 118.—(*a*) Lalāṭēndu Kēsarī or Singh Rājā Cave.

(*b*) On the Khaṇḍagiri Hill ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) IIa ; (*e*) Uncertain ; but probably Mediæval.

(*f*) The Lalāṭēndu Kēsarī or Singh Rājā Cave is situated a few yards to south of the rock bearing the three Jaina figures, and some fifty yards south-west of the Government bungalow at the foot of the hill. It was probably two storeys in height. The upper storey of the cave apparently consisted of two chambers with a common verandah ; but the front and partition walls of the rooms and the whole of the verandah with its roof and pillars have fallen away. The end pilasters of the verandah, which have survived, are of the common type seen in these hills. The left and back walls of the upper storey are carved with eight nude figures of Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* standing in niches in their characteristic attitude of absorption. Five of these (first, third, fifth, sixth, and eighth from left) are canopied by seven-hooded serpents, the coils of the snakes also appearing behind the figures. These probably represent Pārśvanātha. In all, there are nine niches ; but the third from the right is empty. The lower storey of the cave was cleaned of rubbish at the instance of Mr. Garret, Collector of Puri District, in 1902, when the plan of a curious structure was disclosed containing two miniature rooms with sluice gates, a circular cave of still smaller size with a doorway, and a rectangular tank in front of them, to south. An inscribed stone slab of curious shape was also discovered by Mr. Garret near the circular cave on the ground floor ; but it is not known what became of it. The chambers are too small for human occupation, being only 2 ft. square and the walls not more than 18 ins. in height. Possibly some sculptured figures were set up here in later times ; or it may be that the excavation with its diminutive sluice gates on two sides was intended as a source of water supply for the occupants of the cave, though the existence of another large tank in the vicinity rather discounts this possibility.

(*g*) Above the third niche from the right, which is without any figure, is a Mediæval inscription in corrupt Sanskrit. It is now badly damaged, and reads as follows :—

1. *Ōm śrī-Udyōtakēsari-Vijaya-rājyā-samvat* 5
2. *Srī-Kumāraparvvata Sthānē jirnna vāpi jirnna Isana*
3. *udyōtita tasmīna thānē chaturvinśati tīrtha*(*ṁ*) *kara*
4. *sthāpita pratīshṭha* (*kā*)*lē Ha*(*ri*)-*ōpa Jasanandika*
5. *Kna* (?) *da* (?) *ti* (?) *dratha* (?) *Srī Parasyanathasya Karmmākhyah*

Translation.

"In the year 5 of the victorious reign of illustrious Udyotakeśarī (Udyotha-kesarī), on the illustrious Kumāra mountain, decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine (and) at that place the images of the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* were set up. At the time of the dedication......... Jasanadi........ in the place (? Temple) of the illustrious Parasyanatha (Pārśvanātha)." (Banerji, E. I., XIII.) We learn from line 2 that the ancient name of Khaṇḍagiri is Kumāraparvvata. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela mentions Kumārī-parvvata as the ancient name of Udayagiri. The twin hills seem to have been known as the Kumāra-Kumārī *parvata* up to the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

(*h*) Good ; (*j*) Mr. Garret's note, pp. 8-9 ; Dist. Gazetteer, Puri, 262-3 ; (*k*) No photos.

No. 119.—(*a*) The Ākāśagaṅgā Tank.

(*b*) On a higher ledge of the Khaṇḍagiri Hill, just above the broken cave near the Singh Rājā Cave, to south ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) III ; (*e*) Uncertain, but probably early.

(*f*) The Ākāśagaṅgā is a rectangular tank excavated in the solid rock and measuring 26 ft. by 17 ft. and about 15 feet deep, with two flights of steps along the north and west walls. The steps are five to seven feet wide. The tank is said to be fed by a natural spring at the bottom. The water never dries up, but it is not used for drinking purposes.

(*j*) L. A. M. B., 502-04 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 262 ; (*k*) *Nil.*

No. 120.—(*a*) Gupta Gaṅgā Tank.

(*b*) On the western face of the Khaṇḍagiri hill ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) III ; (*e*) Probably contemporaneous with the caves on the hill.

(*f*) The western face of the hill contains three open caves without door-ways. Adjoining them on the south side is a long natural cavern called Gupta Gaṅgā resembling a tunnel with a vaulted roof. The far end of it, which is about 50 feet from the mouth, is generally filled with water during the rains.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) Fair ; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 504 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 262-63 ; (*k*) *Nil.*

No. 121.—(*a*) Rādhā Kuṇḍ (Tank).

(*b*) Some 50 yards further south of the Singh Rājā Cave (No. 118) ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) III ; (*e*) Uncertain, but probably early.

(*f*) The Rādhā Kuṇḍ is situated some 50 yards further south of the Singh Rājā Cave in the south-east corner of the Nīlagiri peak, which lies south-west of Khaṇḍagiri and is separated from it by a low jungle-grown valley. The name Nīlagiri, however, is not generally known now-a-days, and the monuments on it are spoken of as situated on the Khaṇḍagiri Hill. The Kuṇḍ is a pool of greenish water which dries up in the summer and is generally very

dirty. It measures 23 ft. by 15 ft. Steps are provided on the east side. The west side rises sheer and is very high, the tank being excavated at the foot of the Khaṇḍagiri hill.

At the south-west angle of the tank are the remains of a broken cave of two chambers.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) The tank is in good condition : (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 264 ; C. S. R., XIII, 90 ; (*k*) *Nil.*

No. 122.—(*a*) Śyāma Kuṇḍ (Tank).

(*b*) Near the south-west angle of the Rādhā Kuṇḍ (No. 121) a flight of steps leads up to the barren top of the southern ledge of the Khaṇḍagiri hill, and thence down to Śyāma Kuṇḍ, a distance of some eighty yards ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) III ; (*e*) Probably early.

(*f*) The Śyāma Kuṇḍ is a natural dome-shaped cavern, with a depression in the centre of the floor about 8½ feet deep and 15 feet in diameter. It has only one small entrance on the south, 3 feet high and 1 ft. 7 ins. wide, in front of which a shallow masonry porch has been erected in modern times.

About a hundred feet to south-east of the Śyāma Kuṇḍ is an open cave facing south, the roof of which is supported on a new masonry pier in front.

The Gazetteer mentions another open cave beyond the Śyāma Kuṇḍ on the south side of the hill. It is described as facing west and approached by a flight of steps cut in the rock. Its position could not be located, however; though it is possible that the cave may be concealed in the dense jungle near by.

(*g*) None ; (*h*) Good ; (*j*) Dist. Gazet., Puri, 264 ; C. S. R. XIII, 90 ; (*k*) *Nil.*

Konārak.

No. 123.—(*a*) The Sun Temple or Black Pagoda of Konārak is locally known as the Deul.

(*b*) About 21 miles north-east of Puri and 42 miles south-east of Bhuvaneśvara ; (*c*) Government ; (*d*) Ia ; (*e*) Probably 11-12th century A.D.

(*f*) The temple, the pre-eminent features of which are its colossal proportions and its elaborate ornamentation, is situated in the middle of a large compound measuring 857 ft. east to west by 540 ft. north to south and enclosed by a massive wall 5 ft. 4 ins. thick and about 8 ft. high. The only entrance to the enclosure is on the east side. The gateway is built of laterite, and the wall on either side of it is said to have originally been battlemented for a short distance.

The temple consists of a main tower and a porch, with a *nātmandir* or dancing hall in front of the latter. The *jagmohan* and the temple *śikhara* stand on a common plinth, and were fashioned to represent the 24-wheeled chariot of the Sun God drawn by seven horses, four on the right and three on the left of the long flight of steps approaching the main eastern entrance of the *jagmohan*. A narrow margin of paving surrounds the temple at ground

level, from which rises a stylobate 12 inches high and carved with a continuous frieze of elephants and scenes of a domestic or war-like character or represen-

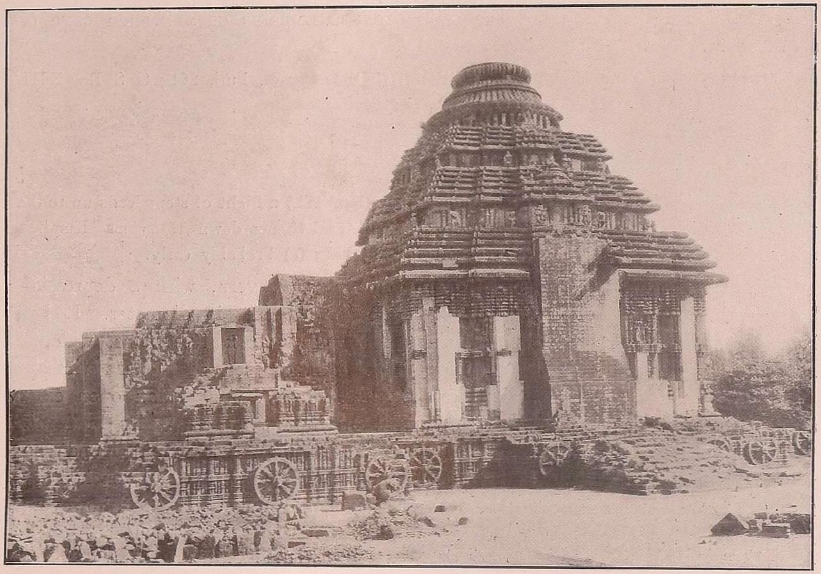

FIG. 156.—Black Pagoda from S. W., Konārak.

tative of the chase. The wheels and horses of the Sun God's chariot rest on this stylobate, which forms a kind of a pedestal for the high ornamental plinth of the temple. Including the projections for the steps of the *jagmohan* the plinth is 320 feet long from east to west and 230 ft. wide from north to south. It is 13 ft. 6 ins. high above the stylobate, and is elaborately ornamented with carvings, which may be divided horizontally into five divisions. The lowest band, 2 ft. 11 ins. high, consists of a moulding of cyma and torus forms and fillets. The next band is separated by a narrow background of minute *jālī* and contains a series of panels, formed between pilasters, enclosing griffins, *nāgīs* and human figures. The third band, again, comprises a narrow moulding between flat fasciæ; and above this is another set of panels containing human figures in revoltingly obscene attitudes.[1] In these panels also are some groups representing particular scenes such as (1) the presentation of a giraffe (with horns!) to a Rājā seated on an elephant and (2) the *Liṅga*, *Jagannātha* and *Mahishāsurmardini* (all on one and the same pedestal) being worshipped by a Rājā followed by elephants and attendants.

[1] Dr. Bloch's remarks on these obscene figures are interesting: "The walls of the temple seem to have been carved," he says, "with the profusest illustration in stone of the Kāmasūtra that can be imagined. Whether this was done in order to drive away evil influences or to attract the people, I am unable to say. At present one hears both explanations in regard to similar carvings on temple walls and very likely both are true."

The fifth or topmost band of carvings on the plinth consists of three fasciæ decorated with animal figures and a honey-comb pattern. The wheels

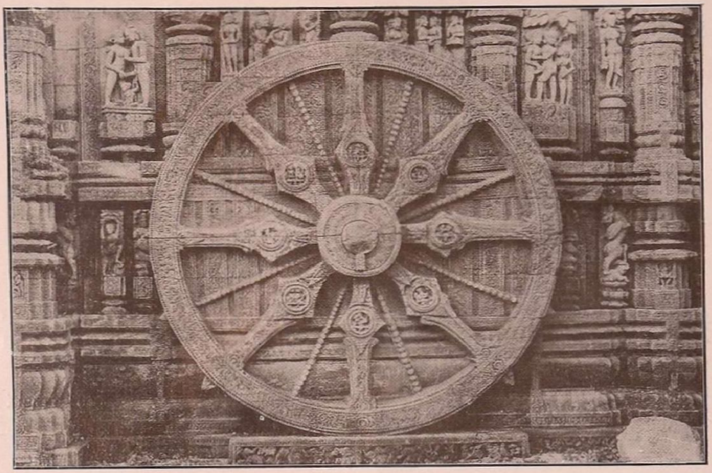

FIG. 157.—Black Pagoda, carvings on the plinth.

of the chariot-temple are 9 ft. 9 ins. in diameter, with 8 wide and 8 narrow spokes in each. Only a few of the wheels are now intact. The horses are all 4 ft. 9 ins. high and have elaborately ornamented harness. They are built up of a number of small dressed stones and not carved out of large blocks. The plinth was ascended by means of three separate flights of steps, now ruined, one opposite each of the three entrances of the porch. Including the side walls, which were about 7 to 9 feet in thickness, the steps variously measure from 38 to 47 feet at the base.

The superstructure of the shrine, consisting of the porch, the main tower and the three small temples grouped around it, is erected on a common platform or stylobate 2 ft. 3 ins. high; a margin of from 8 to 12 feet wide being left to form a berm around the whole group.

The Jagmohan or Porch.—The *jagmohan* is a square of 94 feet, built in the *pañcharathī* style, *i.e.*, with double projections in the walls; but the projections are so slight that the structure has all the appearance of a square. The walls, so far as their decoration is concerned, may be divided horizontally into five divisions. The lowest one is formed of mouldings (8 ft. 9 ins. high), which, however, are not carried all along the walls, appearing only at intervals at the corners and between the different pilaster-features. Above this moulding are two rows of panels or niches separated by a moulding of five bands. The lower niches contain griffins and human-headed or elephant-headed lions—some of them with riders—standing upon crouching elephants or demons; the upper ones contain life-size human couples, which but for their

obscenity would have done credit to the sculptor's art. The 5th or topmost portion of the walls of the *jagmohan* is carved with a moulding of ten members, finely ornamented. This and the central moulding are carried uninterruptedly all along the walls, following each recess and corner. The lowest moulding and the two rows of panels containing griffins and obscene figures are replaced on the side projections (*konaka*-and *anardha-pagas*) by small representations of temples flanked by two polygonal pillars on each side. Of these pillars the outer ones are moulded at the base and top and adorned with scroll work ; the inner ones have double rows of obscene figures above and *nāgīs* below.

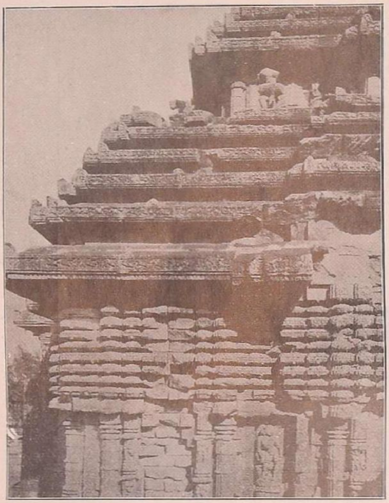

FIG. 158.—Black Pagoda, detail of *jagmohan* roof, Konārak.

A distinctive feature of this temple, architecturally, is the design of the *jagmohan* roof which is pyramidal in shape externally and is constructed on the corbel principle. The ornamentation outside takes the form of three tiers of string-cornices, the lower two containing six rows each and the upper one five. The cornices of the lower tiers are carved with narrow friezes of elephants, horses, etc. The second tier of cornices commences at a height of 7 ft. 4 ins. from the top of the first, the perpendicular space between being relieved with decorative pilasters and niches containing figures of female musicians ; while life-size female figures in the round stand on the projecting cornices, playing on drums and other musical instruments. At this level, over each of the three doorways of the *jagmohan*, there are what have been described by Mr. Bishun Swarup as two dancing figures of Śiva with four heads. The space between this and the third set of cornices also contains figures of female minstrels similar to those described above. The third set is without bas-relief along the edges of the cornices. Over the top set of cornices, which terminates the sloping side of the roof, is set the heavy *śrī*, a plain circular member, with its *beki* or neck, supported on eight large lions, linking this heavy circular feature with the square form of the pyramidal roof below. Above the *śrī* is a graceful bell-shaped *khapuri* ornamented with lotus petals. Above this again comes the *amala*, a flat circular fluted member with its *beki* and plain *khapuri* supported on the shoulders of squatting *Yaksha* figures. The *kalaśa* of the *jagmohan* is missing, but a small rod of iron which held it in position is still visible.

The porch had four doorways, one in the middle of each side. The southern and western entrances are now blocked up, and the northern is badly damaged ;

the eastern is the only one in fair preservation. The frames of all these doorways were of chlorite, elaborately ornamented with conventional patterns distributed in seven vertical bands. The chaste design and exquisite finish of the 2nd band, which portrays two twining serpents terminating in female busts at the base and top is particularly noteworthy; as also is the vine creeper in the 4th band, in the loops of which cherubs are at play. The decoration of the lintel is divided into seven bands, with a raised panel containing figures in bas-relief in the middle of each. The lowest panel contains a figure of *Lakshmī* over whom two elephants are pouring water; the others each depict a *Rājā* in the centre attended by his ministers and servants.

The width of the actual opening was only 6 ft. 10 ins., but the total width of the door was 15 ft. 10 ins. including the chlorite frame. On either side of the door projected pilasters, now fallen, which supported a huge architrave of chlorite stone on two solid iron beams measuring 22 ft. 10 ins. in length and 9 ins. to 10½ ins. square.[1] The face of this architrave was carved with figures of the nine planets (*Navagrahas*). In front of each of the flanking pilasters was a polygonal pillar about 6 ft. 8 ins. by 5 ft. 8 ins. at the base; but a portion only of one of these pillars (on the north) now remains *in situ*. Of the *Navagraha* stone architraves only one—that from the eastern doorway—is now extant. It is placed in the sculpture-shed east of the *jagmohan* and has become a regular object of worship. Originally the stone measured 20 ft. by 4 ft. and 3 ft. 9 ins. thick; but in order to lighten it with a view to its removal to Calcutta (a project subsequently abandoned) it was cut longitudinally into two, so that the present thickness is only about 2 feet. The carving on the face consists of nine figures, each seated in a trefoil niche supported on stunted pilasters. The figures are richly ornamented, wear high pointed crowns, and are seated cross-legged on lotuses. The first figure beginning from the left is that of *Ravi*, or the Sun, holding a lotus in each hand; the second is that of *Soma*, or the Moon, holding a vase in the left hand and a rosary in the right; the third figure is *Mangala* (Mars), the fourth *Budha* (Mercury), the fifth *Brihaspati* (Jupiter), the sixth *Śukra* (Venus), and the seventh *Śani* (Saturn). All the figures are similar in form, features, ornaments, etc., except that of Jupiter, who, as priest of gods and sages, is depicted with a long flowing beard. The eighth figure is that of *Rāhu*, or the ascending node, who is believed to have been produced by one human body being divided into two, the upper half forming Rāhu and the lower half the descending node. He is the oppressor of the Sun and

[1] A number of the iron beams originally used in the buildings of Konārak are now lying to south of the Great Temple. They are all solid and very heavy, some of them being over 5 tons in weight and measuring as much as 35 ft. long and 8 to 10½ inches square in section. Mr. M. H. Arnott, Superintending Engineer of the P. W. Dept., considered that these beams were made by pouring molten iron over faggots of the same metal. But this appears to be improbable, for the iron is not cast iron and the process of melting iron was not known at that time (9th century A.D.). A more reasonable explanation seems to be that given by Rai Bahadur Bishun Swarup in his "*Konaraka*" (p. 59). "Small lengths of iron bars," he says, "with section 2 ins. to 3 ins. square were heated and welded together. These were put so as to break joint. By adding piece after piece a big beam was prepared and, heating the whole thing, the surface was beaten smooth. The welding inside was not well done. It is, however, creditable to the smiths of the time that they could manipulate such heavy masses in their forges."

Moon, one or other of which, according to Puranic mythology, he swallows and thereby produces an eclipse. He is represented as a grotesque grinning monster with grizzly hair and moustaches and two immense canine teeth projecting from the upper jaw. In his right hand he holds a crescent, and in his left a broken object, which Mr. Stirling takes for a hatchet and Dr. Mitra for the Sun, but which really looks like a repetition of the crescent held in the right hand. He has no legs. The ninth figure is *Ketu*, or the descending node, the oppressor of the stars. The lower half of his body takes the form of a serpent's tail, which coils right and left in such a way that the loops at either side give the impression of a figure seated cross-legged like the other figures. Stirling described the sixth (Venus) as a female ; but it is a male figure, like the others.

The interior of the *jagmohan* was quite plain, without any carvings, and 60 feet square. It was filled with sand in 1903 by the order of the Hon'ble J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I., then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, as this was believed to be the only way to preserve the monument from further decay.

The Deul. Of the main tower, or *deul*, only a small portion now remains. The arrangement of the different parts of the temple, as also their design and mouldings, is the same as in the *jagmohan ;* but being on a larger scale the mouldings are deeper and bolder and the different scrolls and floral designs more prominent. The moulding above the stylobate is 13 ft. 9 ins. high, and similar to that in the *jagmohan*. Above it are the panels or niches containing the figures of griffins, again as in the *jagmohan*, but of a larger size. In the central projections, or *rahapagas*, of the three sides (south, west, and north) there are, at this level, three very fine statues of the Sun god, carved in full relief on large chlorite slabs. The images are approached by two flights of steps on the right and left, which also serve to separate the main temple from the smaller temples on its three sides.

The statue on the south side is 8 ft. 6 ins. high, has the matted hair of an ascetic, and wears stockings, elaborate *dhotī*, and ornaments. At the feet of the figure sits his legless charioteer Aruṇa driving the seven horses. There are a number of attendants carved on the pedestal and on the back slab, some seated and others standing. Near the shoulders of the deity is a small seated figure of Vishṇu on the proper left, and of Brahmā on the right.

The figure on the west is very similar to the one described above, except that the god wears a crown and that the four-armed figure over its left shoulder is not that of Vishṇu—none of his symbols being indicated. The image on the north side differs from the other two, inasmuch as the Sun god is shown here as riding on a fine horse elaborately decorated with ornaments. The charioteer has been dispensed with, but in other details the statue is similar to the other two figures.

Above the dado of panels containing the griffins and the three chlorite statues of the Sun god, the temple is wholly ruined and the structure missing, except for a small portion on the east face where it is joined to the *jagmohan*. Here can still be seen a broad moulding separating the lower panels

from the upper ones, which contain, not obscene figures as asserted by Mr. Bishun Swarūp ("*Konaraka,*" p. 25), but single female figures standing in graceful attitudes. One of these figures still remains *in situ*. According to the Puri Temple Records, the total height of the temple from the ground was 174 feet to the top of the steeple, and 225 feet up to the top of the *dhvaja* or flag. It was, therefore, the highest of the Orissa temples. The intermediate or false roof of the temple was probably flat and supported on solid iron beams, some of which were found in the cell at the time of its clearance. The interior of the Temple is quite plain, except for a moulding of three plain bands running along the walls at a height of 4 ft. 10 ins. from the floor, which is paved with chlorite slabs. In the west half of the chamber is placed a large ornate *Siṁhāsana* of chlorite—the throne of the image which was removed to Puri in the 16th century A.D. The *Siṁhāsana* measures 13 ft. by 8 ft. 3 ins. including projections, and is 5 ft. 9 ins. high.

The passage from the *jagmohan* to the temple has now been blocked up. Externally, the side walls (on the north and south) of the passage are decorated with pilasters and scroll work running right up to the roof of the *jagmohan*, in order to disconnect the mouldings and carvings on that building from those of the main temple, which differ in height. There are two sets of figures on this portion, the upper one of an obscene nature, and the lower one depicting a lion with rider, standing over an elephant.

Projecting from three sides of the temple and built close against its walls are three small shrines on the north, south, and west. One of the objects of these minor shrines appears to have been aesthetic, *viz.*, to lend additional mass to the basement of the temple, which would otherwise appear to be too small in relation to the great height of the tower. The roofs of these small temples were flat on the outside and approached by the same staircases which led up to the three statues of the Sun god. The interior cells covered by these roofs are about 11 ft. 7 ins. square. The northern chamber contains the drain from the main temple; but the other two had each an image of a god placed in a small niche made for the purpose. Over the entrance of each chamber was the usual *Navagraha* architrave, and in front a porch with three doorways, one in each side. The whole, taking in the walls, formed a building about 36 feet square, constructed in the *pañcharathī* style, and decorated externally in conformity with the plinth of the temple. The walls of these shrines have almost entirely disappeared; only a portion about 12 feet high now exists intact on the south side.

The ruin of the Black Pagoda was probably due to the fall of the tower, a calamity which is the subject of many theories. Stirling considered that the dilapidation was originally started by an earthquake or lightning, and that the effects of weather and other causes hastened the processes of decay. Fergusson ascribed the fall to the sinking of the foundations, and Mitra and Hunter were of the same opinion; but Hunter expressed a doubt as to whether the temple was ever completed. Mr. M. H. Arnott, Superintending Engineer, attributed the fall of the tower to insufficiency of weight at the top, which points

to a fault in the design. But Mr. Bishun Swarup, also of the Public Works Department, believes that the weight at the top of the tower must have been adequate originally, and suggests that *Kālā Pahāṛ* or some other iconoclast must have removed the *āmalak* from the top in order that the temple might collapse in course of time. This theory is doubtful; for the temple exhibits no signs of iconoclastic fury; and the very prominent statues of the Sun god and the Aruṇa pillar which were removed from it in the 17th and 18th century respectively and now stand in front of the Puri temple are undamaged and well preserved even at this date. Part of the tower to a height of about 120 feet was still standing when Stirling visited the place in 1822; it was also in existence in 1837, when Fergusson made a drawing of it; but had entirely collapsed in 1869 when visited by Dr. R. L. Mitra. The present remains are only about 50 ft. high above the plinth.

The Nāṭmandir. Some 50 feet east of the Black Pagoda is situated the *nāṭmandir* or dancing hall, a massive structure with a high plinth constructed on a moulded stylobate. The plinth is 11 ft. 9 ins. high including the stylobate, and is relieved with a number of narrow pilasters carved with representations of temples, and with female figures engaged in dancing, singing or playing upon musical instruments. Each pilaster is relieved with three rows of figures; a horizontal moulding, 11 ins. deep, separating the 2nd and the 3rd row, and another about 2 feet deep occurring above the third row of figures. The plinth forms a platform about 74 feet square, excluding the steps on the four sides.

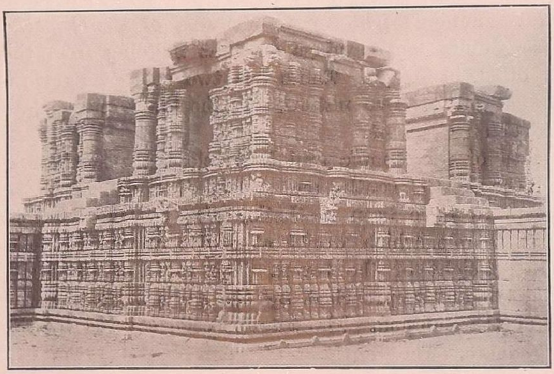

FIG. 159.—Black Pagoda, *Nāṭmandir*, Konārak.

The superstructure, which is recessed from the main plinth to leave a berm of 11 feet all around, is about 52 feet square, and has a smaller plinth of its own 4 ft. 6 ins. high, relieved with panels containing miniature temples and female figures between two neatly ornamented mouldings. The walls recede about 1 ft. 9 ins. from the plinth, and as regards ornamentation may be divided into six horizontal divisions. The lowest is a band of mouldings, and the next one a series of panels similar to those on the plinth below, but larger and more profusely decorated. Over the panels occur other mouldings, followed by a second set of panels, above which is a third band of mouldings similar in outline but somewhat differently decorated. The sixth part embraces the corbelling in support of the lintels over the openings. The upper half of the corbel-

ling is relieved with beautiful lotus petals carved in a way suggestive of the volutes of an Ionic column.

The total height of the walls is 10 ft. 8 ins. under the lintels, which are two feet thick. The cornice-mouldings over the lintels have all disappeared, as also has the roof.

The *nāṭmandir* is an open structure with one large and two small openings in each side except the north, where the smaller openings are closed with masonry which is ornamented with appropriate carvings and mouldings. The central openings are 10 feet wide, the smaller ones only 5 feet. In front of each of the larger openings are two pillars, each 2 ft. 1 in. in diameter. They have moulded bases (2 ft. 10 ins. high) and ornamented shafts 3 ft. 9 ins. high with a row of sculptured musicians on the lower portion, scroll work in the middle, and *kīrtimukha* heads, from which droop pearl garlands, at the top. The capitals, 2 feet in height, consisted of a three-banded moulding surmounted by a cruci-form-shaped lotus flower of great beauty. Above this was the corbelling to support the lintels.

The interior is 36 ft. 6 ins. square and is divided into a nave and two aisles by four massive pillars (7 ft. square in plan) which supported the ceiling. For the first three feet above the floor these pillars are quite plain. The decoration above consists of a moulding surmounted by a row of five pilasters on each side, on which are carved figures of females and griffins standing on lotus pedestals. Over the pilasters runs another moulding followed by a second set of pilasters relieved with male and female musicians. When the *nāṭmandir* was cleared of sand and debris, a fine chlorite statue of the Sun god measuring (6 ft. 3 ins. by 3 ft.) was found in the interior, standing on a pedestal against one of the massive pillars. The statue of which an illustration is inset (Fig. 160) was originally placed in the west or back niche of the Māyā Dēvī Temple.

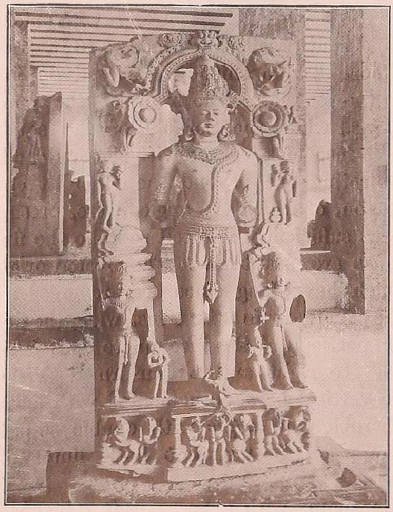

FIG. 160.—Black Pagoda, Statue of Sūrya in the sculpture shed, Konārak.

The main approach to the *nāṭ-mandir* was on the east. The flight of steps on this side is flanked by high side-walls of which the outer faces are relieved with plain mouldings and pilasters devoid of all ornament. In front of the steps are two colossal lions standing on crouching elephants, each holding a *Yaksha* in its trunk.

The Temple of Māyā Devī. A few yards to the south-west of the Black Pagoda are the plinth and walls of a small temple, dedicated, according

to the Third Record of the Puri Temple, to Māyā Devī, the chief female deity of the place. Like the Black Pagoda, this temple also consists of a porch and a sanctuary, which stand on a common moulded plinth 88 ft. by 53 ft. and 3 ft. 3 ins. high. The outer walls are decorated exactly in the same way as those of the *jagmohan* in the Main Temple, many of the human figures being obscene. In the outer niches of the temple were three statues of the Sun god, two of which are still *in situ*. The image in the north niche is 5 feet high, wears the usual socks, and is shown as riding a horse. The head and hands of the southern image, which is standing, are broken ; but the socks leave no doubt as to its identity. The statue from the western niche was removed by someone and set up for worship in the *nāṭmandir*, where it was found when the interior of that building was cleared of sand and debris. It is now placed in the Sculpture Shed. The entrance to the porch is on the east and in front of it is a platform, a part of which was covered by a portico. The doorway had a chlorite frame of which only one stone (2 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 3 ins.) remains. It was decorated in the same way as the door jambs of the *jagmohan* in the Main Temple.

The interior of the porch is 28 ft. 3 ins. square, and the plainness of its walls is relieved only by four square pilasters on each side decorated with niches containing female figures. In the north and south walls are windows (6 ft. 3 ins. square) at a height of 5 feet from the floor. The openings are closed by four balusters carved with female figures on the outside. The roof of the porch internally commenced at a height of 7 ft. 6 ins., where the corners of the square chamber are cut by diagonal stones, each 15 ins. thick, carved with elephants, etc., on the front. Four such corbel-stones projecting one beyond the other at each corner reduced the square to a regular octagon, of which the angles were, presumably, cut again and again until the span was sufficiently reduced to take the final roofing slabs ; but only a few of these stones are extant now. They rested originally on iron beams 3 to 4 inches thick, which have long since been removed.

The passage between the porch and the sanctuary is 8 ft. 3 ins. wide, the door being only 4 ft. in width. On the lower portions of the incomplete door jambs are carved a pot-bellied Śiva and Yamunā to right and a four-armed Vishṇu and Gaṅgā to left ; above them are two vertical bands ornamented with a vine creeper, in the loops of which appear cherubs, and *nāgīs* with double serpent-tails. The lintel stone was supported on iron beams, but both lintel and beams have disappeared.

The interior of the sanctuary is quite plain, with a recess 7 ft. 4 ins. wide and 1 ft. deep in the middle of each side. The masonry platform for the *siṁhāsana* or throne of the deity measures 7 ft. 6 ins. by 6 ft. 10 ins.

Other structures within the compound.—Of the other structures standing within the compound few traces remain. An old well, about 7½ feet in diameter still exists to the north of the *jagmohan*. Close to it on the south-west are indications of the plinth of a building and to north-east of the *jagmohan* are two other platforms, one 90 ft. by 27 ft. the other 17 ft. square, probably

also the plinths of buildings. Out of the basement of a fourth structure is now growing a banyan tree.

Four other structures can also be traced on the south-east side. One of these was a large open building, of which the broken pillars are still standing. A well to north of this pillared hall is now entirely silted up.

In front of the *jagmohan* was originally a monolithic pillar of cholrite, 33 ft. 8 ins. high and carrying a figure of Āruṇa on the top. It was removed to Puri by the Marathas, and set up in front of the Lions Gate of the Puri Temple.

Two large sculptured elephants stand in front of the north gateway of the *jagmohan*, and a couple of war-horses occupy a similar position on the south. The elephants, which are 6 ft. 9 ins. high, and stand on separate stone platforms measuring 15 ft. by 11 ft. by 4 ft. 6 ins. high, are decorated with ornamental strappings and ropes with bells at the ends. The elephant on the east holds an armed *Yaksha* in its trunk, and is about to trample him under foot; the *Yaksha* held in the trunk of the other elephant has been lost; but another, depicted as being crushed under its belly, still remains.

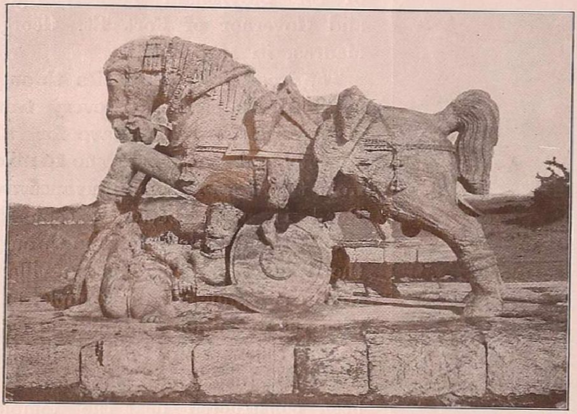

FIG. 161.—Black Pagoda, Stone horse, Konārak.

The horses are 5 ft. high and, like the elephants, stand on separate masonry platforms. They are elaborately ornamented, bridled and saddled, and are each attended by a groom running at the side. In each group two *Yakshas*, holding shields and swords, have been crushed down by the stallions. These figures of horses and elephants are all *in the round*.

In concluding this account the following brief extract from a Conservation Note by Sir John Marshall dated 28th February, 1905, may be quoted :—

"There is no monument of Hinduism I think that is at once so stupendous and so perfectly proportioned as the Black Pagoda, and none which leaves so deep an impression on the memory. When Fergusson wrote of it so admiringly he had seen but half of its beauty. The deep and richly carved basement with the horses and chariots of the Sun God had not been unearthed in his day, nor were any traces visible of the massive dancing hall in front which makes such a splendid addition to the main building."

Besides the dancing hall mentioned above, the clearance of the Temple compound also revealed the Temple of Māyā Devī and the basements of some other structures. The work of conservation carried out at the temple has been

a particularly arduous and expensive one. In order to prevent the strong drift of sand from covering these monuments again, it was considered advisable to plant Casuarina trees along the western and southern sides of the temple court. They have grown up very well and afford a real and permanent protection.

Attached to the temple is a museum in which have been kept for safe custody the broken sculptures found in the vicinity of the temple.

The name Black Pagoda was given to the temple by the crews of coasting vessels, for whom it served as a prominent landmark. The earliest mention of this name appears in the diary of Sir Steynsham Master, Agent and Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, in 1675 A.D.

Fig. 162.—Black Pagoda, Statue of Gaṅgā in the Sculpture Shed, Konārak.

The road from Puri lies through heavy sands bereft of every trace of verdure or water, save for the Kushabhandara stream, some 14 miles from that town. The Bhuvaneśvara Road is much better, except for about 2 miles where it runs through the river beds. There is no village within two miles of the temple, and with the exception of milk and eggs no provisions can be had locally. A small Inspection Bungalow has been constructed near the temple, where visitors may halt.

The Temple Records of Puri (*Maṇḍala Pañjī*) ascribe the construction of the Pagoda to Rājā Narsingha Deva of the Gaṅgā dynasty who ruled from A.D. 1238 to 1264. This date was accepted by many scholars as correct; but Fergusson traverses it on the ground of its being impossible that "after the erection of so degraded a specimen of the art as the temple of Puri (A.D. 1174), the style ever could have reverted to anything so beautiful" as the Black Pagoda of Konarak. Fergusson's views are further supported by Abul Fazl's statement in his *Ā·īn-i-Akbarī*, where the temple is described as 730 years old, and therefore a monument of the latter half of the 9th century A.D. The name of the builder is uncertain.

(*g*) None; (*h*) Good; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 532-35; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 272-284; Hunter's Orissa, I, 288-99; S. A. B., XIX, 84-91; A. S. R., E. C., (1905-06), 12-13, and (1906-07), 13-15; Fergusson's Ind. Arch., II, 105-07; Bishun Swarūp's "Konāraka," 13-39; (*k*) 269, 373-77, 422-28, 578-87, 589-647, 691-97, 1762-64, 1943-60, 1970-77, 2254-71.

Puri.

No. 124.—(*a*) The Athāranāla Bridge.

(*b*) About two miles north-east of Puri on the Madhopur or Athāranāla stream, which was an important waterway some centuries ago and separated the mainland from the sandy ridges of Puri. (*c*) Government ; (*d*) IIa ; (*e*) According to the "Palm-leaf Record" *Purushottama Chandrika* (p. 33), the bridge was built by Rājā Matsya of the Keśarī Dynasty who ruled between 1035 and 1050 A.D.

(*f*) The bridge is constructed of laterite and sandstone and traverses about 276 feet of waterway by means of 19 spans of the horizontal corbel construc-

FIG. 163.—Athāranāla Bridge, Puri.

tion characteristic of Hindū work. The piers of the arches are 38 ft. 4 ins. deep, 6 ft. 8 ins. wide (except the two central ones which are a little over 8 ft. in width) and about 8½ ft. high to the lowest corbelling, where the span is 8 ft. to 8 ft. 3 ins. wide. Five overlapping corbels intervene to reduce the span, which at the top course measures some 2½ feet. This space is crossed by large laterite slabs each about 4½ feet long. The bridge gradually rises from the sides towards the middle, where the 9th and 10th piers have ten overlapping courses on the inner side, necessitated by the greater width of the central span, which measures 14 ft. 5 ins. wide and 18 ft. 2 ins. high. The abrupt increase in the size of this bay, however, produces a somewhat awkward appearance in those on either side of it, owing to the lop-sided effect of the unequal corbelling. The spans on each side of the central opening are also wider than the others flanking them and measure 10 ft. 5 ins. across.

Above the openings is a plain cornice-band of slight projection, originally decorated at intervals with rude figures of lions and elephants, all of which except three on the east face have now disappeared. The brick parapet on either side of the road over the bridge is apparently a modern addition.

The abutments at the ends of the bridge are rounded on both sides, the curve being carried back to a distance of about 20 feet, the more effectively to resist water action. The corners at the base of the piers have also been rounded off on the east face, from which it would appear that the stream used to flow from east to west.

(*g*) None. (*h*) Good ; (*j*) L. A. M. B., 488 ; A. R., XV, 337-38 ; Hunter's Orissa, I, p. 276, note 214, and p. 277 : Fergusson's Ind. Arch.. II, 113 ; Dist. Gazet., Puri, 196 ; (*k*) 1193, 2272-75.

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